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THE REFLECTION OF RENAISSANCE CRITICISM IN EDMUND SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEEN

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

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FOREWORD

The following thesis represents the first reduction of an enormous mass of material. There has been no revision for organization, style, or condensation.

E.F.Pope.

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INTRODUCTION.

The title of this book defines as nearly as possible the specific purpose of the investigation. The Reflection of Renaissance Criticsm in Spenser's Faerie Queene suggests a mirror wherein may be seen the manners, customs, thoughts, and ideals of his age. Two general points of view enter such a consideration: the one is the poem itself, the other is its background. What has Spenser created in this work of vast scope and almost limitless conception? What are its component parts, how are they joined, and what are the influences through which it was inspired, and executed?

To understand rightly the import of these questions it is necessary to recall not only the critical activity of the poet's own age and country, but the influence of the whole Renaissance period, and the marvellous fluidity with which the current of criticism seemed to flow from nation to nation. It is necessary also to recall the background of the Renaissance and the light of ethical, political, and literary ideals which flickered down the centuries to the illumination of the Renaissance.

Last it is most necessary to conceive the vitality and pervasiveness of the critical spirit of the sixteenth century; and, not through a consideration of a few detached and outstanding names, but through some presentation of the process of development and numerical vastness, to comprehend the universality of literary interest which gave birth to the brilliant progeny of the Renaissance.

The existence of a body of artistic literature presupposes a system of criticism. Criticism does not always need to

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be labelled and advertised but it is indissolubly bound up with conscious literary art. Criticism can be justly regarded or criticised only in the light of its own age and literature. In Plato the Greeks discussed criticism from the standpoint of philosophy, with an ethical objective of virtue and beauty, in Aristotle, as an art or science. Among the military and efficient Romans criticism became law based on authority. Among the Church Fathers it took a moral turn, couched in terms of censure but tempered by the love that truly learned and contemplative men must hold toward literature. Among the Italians, busily engaged in pruning to classic standards the luxuriant growth of native literature, it became a system of rules prescribed to produce the desired results. Among the French it took the shape of a meticulous study of form and language, practical and ingenious, but rather adaptive than original. Among the English, though based upon broad and open borrowing, it gained freedom, independence, and nationalism.

Criticism must be recognized as both resultant and factitive, and the free interaction of forces must be accepted at all times. Great periods of literary brilliance have been preceded and followed by active criticism, the first stage constructive, the latter analytic. In the literatures of all ages there have existed two distinct bodies, the one the result of the profound thought of the philosopher, scientist, and scholar, the other a rude growth of the people, which ministered to their needs, their amusement, their moral and social development. It has been the province of criticism to unify these two extremes and form a basis for national development. The reconciling processes of

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the Greek and the Latin literatures are almost lost in the obscuring shadows of time, but the penetration of modern scholarship reaches back and points out the extremes and the results of their union. However, it is in the later Middle Ages, and in the Renaissance that we can best study the great work of criticism. Here we can see the mass of popular literature subjected to the test of criticism in order to subdue its effervescence, to solidify and shape it into an enduring product. As there is a standard of good usage, so is there a standard of good taste, however variant and hard to define the limits of either may be. It is the province of criticism to fix these standards, and as it has been urged before that criticism is bound up with conscious art, so also must it be urged that ethical ideas are bound up with criticism and cannot be divorced therefrom by even the freest aestheticism. It is through these functions that criticism became a dynamic force in the creation of the literature of the Renaissance. The problem may be summed up as follows:

Literature has its roots in the life of the people. Minds may be roughly divided into two classes, the imaginative and creative, and the analytic or shaping. From the former there springs a natural expression of the people; this is acted upon by the analytic faculty as selective or ordering. Hence literature in its very inception is accompanied by criticism. With the advance of literature criticism develops into two distinct forms. The first is a latent form, working through popular will, selective and formative, the second is the evolution of the first into the autonomy of a special branch of literature the function of which is to guide by rule, and limit by law. The second is born of the first, but

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its birth and growth by no means implies a cessation of function on the part of the parent. Upon these premises it is strongly maintained that criticism is coordinate with literature, and that it is directly proportionate to the character of the literature being produced and to the age of production. Hence, a great literary work is in itself the most perfect form of criticism and holds within itself the complete generative function attributed of old to the goddess Venus.

The Odyssy of Homer was a critical event; so was the Aeneid of Vergil, and in later time and in lesser degree so was the Faerie Queene of Edmund Spenser. It is claimed, however, that this last to a peculiar degree reflects the poet's age, both in the literary theory which controlled its composition and in the moral ideas which constitute its teaching.

But back of the Renaissance lay centuries of development. Greek literature emerges from the past already enriched with stories of mythologic and legendary or historic material. Its development of varied literary forms may be traced; its position of critical problems, and its long period of reproduction, variation, and decline. From the dawn of Latin literature to its evening the Greek teacher, book in hand, stood in Italy. Criticism and comparison were never absent in the creation of Roman literature. In epic, drama, satire, elegy, lyric, philosophy, and romance Rome followed Greece. Rome borrowed the themes of Greece and reproduced her books, Rome followed Greece in her period of brilliancy, and her decline is repeated in the long period of slow disintegration which succeeded the Augustan age.

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These centuries of tutelage bred in literature an imitative nature, and a dependence upon rule. The citation of authority became an essential feature of literary production. When political and social conditions no longer fostered literature and provided a reading public, learning was driven to sheltered places, chiefly to the secluded protection of the Church. There divorced from the life of the people she fed upon herself and with no infusion of new blood, reproduced in kind. Commentaries, compilations, and copying led slowly back to a higher level. But the road was the road of criticism, not of creation. Learning and culture did not die. Each century, indeed each half, and perhaps quarter century saw its Ars Poetica and other critical effort. The growth of literature was, however, stunted through lack of life and inspiration.

Beyond the gates of the monasteries, however, there was no pause in the throbbing life of the world. Commerce grew, nations came into being, cities arose, peoples increased, governments changed. The young did not cease to laugh and dance and sing, men to woo, women to love, and children to be born, who in turn laughed, danced, sang, worked, and died. Thus in the life of the people there grew up anew a literature of song and story, which pulsed with life and teemed with fancy. This was often crossed with reminiscences and infusions of a classic or more learned nature, but it remained essentially a popular growth receiving accretions and fertilization from every side.

Then came the Renaissance, when men turned with eagerness to the rich pagan literature of Greece and Rome, and learned that the Latin literature had come into being and risen to its height

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through the study and imitation of the Greek. The new love of learning and the new nationalism bred a passionate desire to create new literatures in emulation of the old. The way seemed plain.

As therefore has been demonstrated in Italy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there existed two growing literatures; the one a literature of learning slowly restoring to life the treasures of the classic worlds, studying criticism and evolving rule and precept from the example of the past; the other a literature of lyric and romance, breathing love, joy, and adventure, making its own rules and heeding only life.

For the creation of the great literature of the Renaissance a rapprochement between the two was necessary. A literature can not exist forever upon the remains of the past, nor can a natural growth reach its greatest perfection without culture. The beginnings of this affiliation have been shown. As the schools and universities drew laymen to their ranks, they brought with them the love of popular literature. The schoolmen were forced to recognition of the new genre. Liking grew with knowledge, and that affiliation began which has been posited as one of the great functions of criticism.

Criticism assumed the function of dictatorship. Power was in the hands of the learned who had been bred in tutelage to the classics and in subservience to authority. To them the application of rule and cultured form to the new material was a matter of prime necessity. The student learning the beauty of classic form grew to distrust his own taste and longed, as did Sidney, to enhance the native charm of popular poetry, with

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the elegance of culture. All conditions and the habit of centuries fostered criticism.

The affiliation of the diverse genres was by no means made in perfect harmony or indeed without bitter struggle. There were at all times ardent partisans of either one side or the other, who refused concession, but it is with the trend of the mean and its outcome that we are concerned.

It would be an interesting task to trace the steps of reconciliation as it progressed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to note too the similar process of development in France and England, but such a task is beyond the scope of any summary. It must suffice that the problem has been brought to a point of conjunction between the learned literature bred in centuries of authoritative repetition, and the popular material bred among the masses, and to that point of time when the minds of men turned toward the creation of a national literature.

Toward this end men worked with definite purpose and definite method. The processes by which Latin literature had risen to the level and, in popular estimation, even exceeded Greek literature were as clear as the day to men of the Renaissance. By these same methods they proposed to proceed. The result was that unparalleled outburst of criticism which characterized the sixteenth century.

The center and leader of this movement was Italy. Other nations were schooled at her knees. Hers was the inheritance and tradition of classic learning. Truly may she be called the Mother of Learning, for she it was who gave that rebirth to

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literature and art which men have called the Renaissance.

In this rebirth two forces were at work. The one was an inherited love of classic form and reverence for authority which made criticism regnant, and reduced literary creation to thumbrule. The other was a spirit of freedom which grew with the growth of nations.

The following thesis seeks to show how these two forces were combined in the creation of the Faerie Queene.

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THE REFLECTION OF RENAISSANCE CRITICISM
IN
EDMUND SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE.

"'Tis difficult to write justly on anything." Dryden: Ded. Sp. Fri.

Chapter 1.

Spenser as an exponent of criticism.- The nature of the Faerie Queene.- A work of conscious art.- Critical temper of the age.- Early evidence of Spenser's critical tendencies.- Letters of Harvey and Spenser.- Spenser's association with Sidney.- Spenser's knowledge of Italian.- E.K.'s letter and glosse appended to Shepheards Calendar.- Experimental nature of verse.- The English Poete.- Letter to Raleigh.- Critical expression found in minor works.- Purpose of thesis.

The Faerie Queene is a typical product of its own age. The very breath of the Renaissance lives in the sweeping, all-embracing, almost limitless conception of the great poem. The boundless ambition of the age projects a poem that is to out measure all the great epics which the world had hitherto known. The restless energy which drove to deeds rather than dreams conceived a work which the allotted age of man might barely compass. No form but the epic might convey the grandeur of the poet's thoughts. To the intense nationalism of the age no theme was possible save the histo-

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ry of the nation, and to the Englishman of the sixteenth century Elizabeth stood as the symbol of his country's glory. Hence the poem stands as a great image of its age, varied, brilliant, self-conscious; holding its own fate in its hands, yet shaping, measuring itself by others, donning the chains of ages past, yet claiming the freedom of all ages to come.

Such is the aspect of the great poem to the student, as he thrusts from his mind all the masses of detail, the action and interaction of motive, the varied interpretation of varied scholars, and, viewing the poem as a whole, and lets slip, in idle fashion through his brain its changing scenes. He sees the broad plains of Faerie, the slow-moving Idle Lake, the rococo bowers of bliss, the forests peopled with satyrs and other strange beings, the grottos thronged with nymphs and Tritons, the ragged hills of Ireland, and the level wastes of Belgium's stricken land. He calls to mind the evanescent theme changing and shifting from mediaeval romance into an allegory of religion and politics, slipping insensibly into Platonism, rising to the height of the symbolic mysticism of Neo-platonism; then melting into an exquisite delight of the senses. He contrasts the crass mediaeval morality of the houses of Pride, of Holiness, of Temperance, of Alma, with the thinly veiled treatment of political events of the poet's own day. He recalls the warp laid from half a hundred romances, the woof woven in brilliant threads from the classics, from writers great and less of a later age, from folklore, from the Bible, and the web shot through with threads of allegory, mythology, and philosophy. Last there troop before his eyes knights, lords and ladies, gods, goddesses

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and nymphs, giants, dwarfs and satyrs, mentors, magicians and hermits, witches, hags and harlots, sages, shepherdesses and salvage men, demagogues, priests and villeins, and creatures of the world of fancy, fathered by moral purpose, but wrought by magic. Such is the kaleidoscopic vision which may pass before the mind of the student, as swept the Masque of Cupid before the wondering eyes of noble Britomart. Surely no reel in film-land has ever presented such a phantasmagoria of dissolving change as does this great poem. Surely too in no other work does the Renaissance so reveal itself in all its multiform variety, where the old meets the new, and where the accumulated lore and teaching of the past is transmuted into the life and teaching of the future.

It is not, however, the purpose of this study to deal in generalities. No great picture has ever been painted, no great structure has ever been reared, without the entrance of infinite care into every detail. Such care is possible only through the knowledge and guidance of the rules and principles of Art. Art is the concomitant of the critical attitude of its own age. Hence in a work of which every motif, every line, is stamped by the elaboration of a painstaking art, it is possible to study, in the light of its own age, the principles upon which it has been constructed.

Although the exquisite art of the Faerie Queene is sufficient warrant for the selection of its author as an exponent of criticism, there are exterior conditions in the poet's life and training which strengthen this choice. A knowledge of this background enhances for the student the artistic and critical value of the great poem.

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The critical interest of the age was universal.[1] With the study of classic literature there was kindled a fire of enthusiasm for literary achievement which was fanned by the growing spirit of nationalism and individualism. The gulf between classic and popular literature was readily recognized. Classic form was studied ~~by an~~ with analytic method to learn wherein the difference lay. The age was but one generation removed from that of authority. In consequence, classic analysis became embodied in a series of rules for the creation of a new literature.[2] The new passion for learning leaned upon these rules, developed them and passed them on. Italy as the centre of learning and art became the mother of criticism. From Italy to France and England passed the new learning, and with it critical principles. In each nation there sprang up a new growth which yet preserved the traits of its ancestry. From time to time, certain scholars drew afresh from the wells of Italy,[3] and Spenser's relation to such a group and to Italian literature is of peculiar moment to us.

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1 Q. ~~See~~ Intro.

2 V. Scaliger, ~~Poetices:~~ Poet. ~~Lib.~~ III, ~~C. IV~~ iv, pp.86-7.

3 Significant indeed is the citation of Italian authors by certain writers. Ascham's famous diatribe against the Italianate Englishman and evil influence of Italy (The Schoolmaster, pp.72-73, 80-91) is offset by his citation of Castiglione's Cortegiano (p.65), the work of Barthol. Riccius Ferrariensis, and the letters of Cortesius (Gregorio Cortese) to Politian, and of Bembo to Pico. Harvey's satiric Speculum Tuscanismi ~~(Three Letters)~~ betrays the absurd excesses of Italian fashions. His somewhat scornful enumeration of the courtesy books and political discourses which have usurped the place of Duns Scotus, Aquinas, and the scientific works of Aristotle, sheds a startling light upon the number and popularity of these for-

(Harvey's Works: Ed. by Grosart: I, 84-86)

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The poet's training in the Merchant Taylor's School, where he must have come under the influence of the learned Mulcaster[1], his precocious ability evidenced by the famous translations for Van der Noot, his long residence in the university, his friendship with the learned Harvey, and above all his association with the critical coterie of Sidney, Drant, and Dyer single him out as a representative both of the learning and the critical taste of his age.

If we may defer a discussion of the Shepheard's Calendar, its preface and glosse, the first actual evidence of Spenser's critical interests is to be found in two sets of letters, which passed between him and Harvey, and were published by H. Bynneman in 1580. The first of these publications is entitled: Three Proper and wittie familiar Letters lately paſſed between two Vniuerſitie men: touching the Earth-quake in Aprill laſt, and our Engliſh refourmed Verſifying. With the Preface of a well-willer to them both. The second, which really according to the dates of the letters should have preceded, bears the following title: Two Other very commendable Letters, of the ſame men's writing: both touching the foresaid Artificiall Verſifying, and certain other Particulars: More lately deliuered vnto the Printer.

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1 He was Headmaster from 1561-1586.

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eign authors. Elsewhere Harvey evinces a more serious acquaintance with the literature of Italy. Sidney cites Dante, Boccaccio, Bembo, Bibbiena, Pontanus, Scaliger, Fracastoro, Beza, Landino, Sannazzaro and Ariosto. ~~He may well have cited others.~~ Daniel in his A Defense of Ryme calls largely for support upon the learned writers of Italy. (See Saintsbury's Crit. Ess., II, pp. 368-9.) See also Miss Scott's Elizabethan Translations from the Italian, and Lewis Einstein's The Italian Renaissance in England.

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The dilettante tone of these letters stamp them as a part of the popular literary exercises of the day. They are primarily critical in character, and were given to the printer within a short time of their composition. In view of the curious literary subterfuges of this period, it must always be an open question as to whether these letters were a frank interchange of private thought, or were originally destined for the public eye. It is certain that the fame of neither writer, at this time, would have warranted an eager pilfering of their letters; indeed, the printer, claims to have them "fourthe or fifte hand" of one who "procured the copying of them oute at Immeritos handes;" but it ~~is~~ would have been entirely in accord with Harvey's nature to procure their publication. The light these letters shed upon the critical interests of Spenser, and upon his association with the coterie of Sidney is invaluable. The criticism is focused, as the titles indicate, upon "refourmed versifying", but other matters are touched by these eager young writers. The contents of the letters must however be reserved for specific discussion in connection with related subjects.

Letters fully establish Spenser's residence at Westminster, and admission for a brief time at least to the literary circle drawn about himself by Sidney, ~~is fully established by these letters.~~ Such an association is of primary importance to our theme. Sidney's authorship of the Defense of Poesy places him far ahead of any other English critic of his time, and establishes his familiarity with the most advanced criticism of his age, the Italian. To a man of Spenser's education, facile knowledge of Italian, and critical proclivities (he had al-

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ready written The English Poet), such an atmosphere must have been one of ~~grateful~~ pleasing development. Even if he brought to the circle a wider knowledge and culture than any other possessed, a situation easily conceivable, the contact with men who like himself had creative interests, would have given form to his own views; some of which would have been strengthened through the necessity of defense, and some would have been modified in deference to the opinion of others. Although it is impossible to be satisfied with Grosart's placid conclusion that he likes to think of The English Poet as embodied in the Defense of Poesy, it is also impossible to conceive of the two men, one already the author of a book of criticism and the other contemplating one, or at least by implication interested,[1] as not discussing the principles involved in such works.

Another common interest existing between Spenser and Sidney was their knowledge of Italian.[2] Sidney's foreign travel and literary friendships could not but stimulate his interest in the most critical literature of his day, a fact, as noted above, indisputably reflected in his Defense. Spenser's facility in the language is amply established by his early translations from Petrarch.[3] The

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[1] ~~V.~~ (Three Letters, April, 1580.) Spenser mentions Sidney's scorn of Gosson's new book, The School of Abuse (entered Sta. Reg., July 22,1579), to which the Defense is probably a reply.

[2] Confirmation of Spenser's Italian interests and tastes is to be found in the varied Italian epithets showered upon him by Harvey, who even playfully addresses him as "my yunge Italianate Seignior." (Letter-Book, Grosart Ed.,V.1,p.122.) Another with whom the name of Spenser is also intimately associated, Ludovico Bryskett, was an excellent Italian scholar, as is proved by the apt translation of his Discourse of Civil Life from Giraldi's Tre Dialoghi della Vita Civile, and his memorials to Sidney drawn from Bernardo Tasso.

[3] V. Koeppel: Eng.Stud., ~~V.15~~ XV, ~~pp.~~53-80.

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Faerie Queene reveals his complete familiarity with the three great Italian epics, the Divina Commedia, Orlando Furioso and Gerusalemme Liberata, and probably a knowledge of others. Moreover, there is much in his work which bespeaks influences in advance of English literary development; these influences can only be satisfactorily explained through reference to Italian criticism. ~~These~~ such details belong, however, to a later phase of this study.

The role of mentor played by Harvey toward Spenser is acutely significant of the profoundly critical attitude of these young men. We are indebted to their letters for our most important knowledge of the date and character of Spenser's early writings, for the young poet submitted his work to the elder pedant with earnest protestations of his confidence in the latter's judgment. He writes, "— in all things I attribute so muche to your iudgement that I am evermore content to annihilate mine owne determinations in respecte thereof."[1] But Spenser did not reverse his judgment without debate,[2] and we have ~~eternal~~ lasting evidence of the independence of his views in that he yielded neither to Harvey's famous condemnation of his Faerie Queene,[3] nor to Sidney's disapproval of the Calendar.

Another figure in this critical group is the mysterious E. K. It is fortunately not the province of this study to deal with the question of identity. Our interest centres in the fact that his letter to Harvey and the Glosse accompanying the Calendar are purely critical compositions, stamped with the heavy learning and attention to detail which characterize the criticism of the period.

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[1] Letter to Harvey, Oct.5,1579.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Three Letters: Harvey to Spenser.

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The peculiar intimacy ~~of knowledge~~ evinced by E. K. with the workings of the poet's mind, a knowledge failing only at points upon which the poet himself might reasonably be reticent, is of the highest value in interpreting his methods. It is of further interest and significance that Spenser writes to Harvey: "I take bette my Dreames ſhould come forth alone, being growen by meanes of the Gloſſe (running continually in maner of a Paraphraſe) full as great as my Calendar. Therin be ſome things excellently, and many things wittily discourſed of E. K., and the pictures ſo ſingularly ſet forth and purtrayed, as if Michael Angelo were there, he could (I think) nor amende the beſte, nor reprehende the worſt."

The work of E.K. ~~is not~~ the ~~sole~~ ~~Amount constitute~~ critical ~~phase~~ feature of the Shepheard's Calendar. It had become axiomatic that fledgeling poets should begin their flights with the pastoral, as requiring less height of style, elaboration of art, and fineness of invention.[1] But it is the experimental nature of Spenser's verse which claims our attention. First there is the fine quality of his imitation, of which E.K., citing as predecessors Theocritus, Vergil, Mantuan, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Marot, Sannazarus, "and also divers other excellent both Italian and French Poetes," says proudly, "whose foting this Author

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[1] The point is fully treated by E.K. in his letter to Harvey. Cf. Prol. of F. Q., ll. 1-2.

"Bo! I the man whose Muse whylome did maske
As time her taught, in lowly shephards weeds."

Horace implies the principle in bidding the young poet select with care a theme suited to his power. Ars Poetica, ll. 38-41. Vida expands this precept to include the pastoral:

Tu vero ipse humeros explorans consule primum
Atque tuis prudens genus elige viribus aptum
. . . . . .
Sive eligis juvenum lachrymas quibus igne medullas
Urit amor, seu pastorum de more querelas
Et lites Siculi vatis modularis avena.

Art of Poetry, Bk. I, ll. 39-40, 45-47.

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everywhere followeth; yet so as few, but they be wel sented, can trace him out." E. K. here touches the very core of the critical principle of imitation, which consisted in giving to old material the appearance of new. The point of art was to recreate in such a way as to conceal the source, although borrowing was taught as a universal critical precept, and the practice carried no taint of shame or blame.[1] Hense Spenser deliberately sets himself to imitate his noble predecessors, with no thought of indebtedness; he condones or permits E. K.'s slighting reference to the work of Marot[2] because it has been his single purpose to surpass his model, and he believes in his own success.[3]

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[1] Daniello (Della Poetica, pp.74-5) states the view of the Renaissance clearly. If one borrows material from another and treats it in a better fashion, he affirms, it truly becomes his,- "come si legge delle cento antiche novelle dal Boccaccio rinouate et con tanta eloquenza & leggiadria che di publiche et comuni (che essa prima erano) sue proprie et priuate diuennero auenne." So of a sonnet composed by Giovanni Aurelio, "et dal nostro dottissimo M. Pietro Bembo con tanta felicita imitato in quella sua ballata de gli Ascolani."----- "Augurello medesimo mi confesso piu volte essere stato da lui, di gran lunga superato. Et che quella cosa (di che egli era stato prima enuentore) si poteva ragioneuolemente pui tosto del Bembo; che di lui medesimo, chiamare." Scaliger (Poet~~ices~~, ~~Lib.~~II, ~~C.~~1), following Plato, sheds light upon the origin of this idea of moral right to the work of others. All kinds of art, he says, may be reduced to two: those things which in their creation exist, but afterwards have no being, as singing, dancing, wrestling; those that in their creation have no being but afterwards exist, as cloth. "Aedes nanque dum fiunt, nondum sunt: sed postquam factae sunt, sunt. Quare in his quoque id est considerandum: quod quaedam faciunt, quaedam factis vtuntur; vt sint artes ex artibus. Exempli gratia, navim fabricat naviculariusⁿ, nauta verò facta vtitur. Orationem fecit Isocrates, vsus est Archidamus. Fecit fabula Terentius, egit histrio. Instituit Terpander modos, nos his vtimur. Has verò cunctas ita distribuas vt ad duos diducas fines, ad vsum communem aut priuatum."

Giraldi (Pref. ~~of~~ Discourse), quotes Horace: "it is hard to treat of any subject that hath not bene formerly handled by some other. Yet do we see dayly men seeke, partly by new additions, and partly with ornaments of stile to out-go those that have gone before them: which haply some atchieue, but many moe rest farre behind."

[2] V. Argument, November Aeglogue.

[3] His vaunted discipleship to Chaucer belongs in a different category and will be discussed later.

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The motifs of the Aeglogues are also experimental, and embrace every traditional variety of the genre,[1] the singing match, the lovelay, the panegyric, the dirge, political satire, and moral discourse.[2] The metre with its infinite variety is the work of an artist who tries his skill. The harmonies vary, and discord is not lacking, but a spirit of promise underlies the whole. The musician but touches initial chords before he breaks into the full melody of his chosen theme; and in the last line of the January Aeglogue, which lengthens to a final lingering cadence,--

"Whose hanging heads did seeme his carefull case to weepe",

and in the challenging alexandrine of the November dirge,--

"Up, then, Melpomene! the mournful Muse of nyne",

there may be caught a strain prophetic of the grave echoes of the Faerie Queene. When to these more outstanding features of experiment are added a ~~phase of~~ flexible style which adapts itself to each variation of theme and metre, a lavish employment of rhetorical figure, and an artificial diction, the poems as a whole must be viewed not as the spontaneous outpourings of an eager personality, but as the considered utterances of a critic who in practice places learning and art above nature.

Another and notable proof of the experimental and painstaking art of Spenser is the reworking of the early translations made for Van der Noot's Theatre[3] into the more elaborate and artistic versions of Complaints.[4] The advance from the irregular stanzas and blank

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1 (Poet. III, XCIX - 150)
Scaliger more liberally lists: Altercationes, Gaudia, Gratulationes, Amores, Preces, Conquestiones, Cantus Amatorii, Monodiae, Vota, Eventorum recitationes, Pompae rusticae, Laudationes, Oarystiae, Proci puellae disputationes.

2 [illegible] The Arte of English Poesie. (Smith's Eliz. Crit.

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verse of the former to the sonnets of the latter gives a notable step in his development. The revised verses stand midway between the work of the boy and the finished work of the man, and link the clever crudity of the early translation with the polished art of the Amoretti.

Here too should be noted the probable early hexameter form of the Stemmata Dudleiana and the Epithalamion Thamesis, poems which were almost certainly incorporated in later work.

Of the criticism cited up to this point, the formal expression has been that of the group to which Spenser belonged; that of the past has been a matter of implication. His views had, however, already been given form in the English Poet, a critical work which, although heralded by E. K.,[1] hinted at by Harvey,[2] and lamented by Webbe, seems to have passed from our ken. Speculation as to its contents is less than idle. Its reinstatement can be effected only through a careful study of the principles which control Spenser's work, and deductions therefrom.

The famous letter to Sir Walter Raleigh which prefaces the Faerie Queene, and purports to give the key of its "darke conceit", exceeds its promise; it is replete with criticism which sheds light

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1 Oct.Aeg.Argument: "--in his book called The English Poete, which booke being lately come to my hands, I mynde also by Gods grace, upon further advisement to publish."

2 He addresses Spenser: "Is Horaces Ars Poetica so quite out of our Englishe Poets head, that he must have his remembrancer, to pull him by the fleeue, and put him in mind of Penes usum, & ius, & norma loquendi? (Three Letters.)

3 Webbe: A Discourse of English Poetrie (1586). (Smith's Eliz. Crit.Ess. Vol, pp. 232; 246.

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upon the general conception and method of the poet. Again specific points must be deferred for later discussion.

~~Within~~ In Spenser's works ~~there~~ are passages which reflect the critical attitude of the day. This attitude ~~may present~~ includes not merely ~~a~~ purely literary theory, but a phase of life, a point of view, or a method of presentation which has become conventionalized, and so accepted as a part of critical propaganda. Such are passages in The Teares of the Muses, where the decay of learning and degradation of poetry are lamented, and the function of poesy is pointed out;[1] in Mother Hubbard's Tale, where is copiously set forth the ideal of a gentleman,[2] and the theme of preferment.[3] Here and there are scattered phrasings which denote an ever alert critical consciousness. Art and nature are contrasted; the ignorance of the crowd is contemned,--

"So feeble skill of perfect things the vulgar hath."[4] ~~F.Q., V., III, 17.~~ F.Q., V, III, 17.

The presentation of evil is condoned because

"Ill by ensample good doth often gayne." F.Q., II, ii, 45.

Idleness is condemned; decorum is taught; sentence is used freely; courtly repartee is observed, and a distinction is made between alehouse wit and courtly wit. A finer distinction points out the poetry that inspires, and that which moves to action. Everywhere appear the conventional scorn for the rabble route, and respect for the aristocracy as endued by right of noble blood with innate virtue.

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[1] ll. 457 sq.

[2] ll. 917 sq.

[3] ll. 75 sq., ll. 891 sq.

[4] Cf. Teares of the Muses:
"And with vaine toyes the vulgare entertain." (l.194)
"And raigne in liking of the multitude." (l.126.)

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These points, trivial as they may appear individually, are distinct features of the great body of Renaissance criticism which tended to reduce literary creation to fixed presentation. In aggregation they create an atmosphere of intimate assimilation of critical formulae. It is this phase of Spenser's work which is proposed for study in the following pages. The study proper is to be limited to the critical influences moulding the Faerie Queene, but no student can justly eliminate from his consciousness the evidence just reviewed, and the social and literary environment of the poet.

As the title reads, and as has been stated in the introduction, it is the purpose of this thesis to study the reflection of Renaissance criticism in the Faerie Queene, and through such a study to ascertain to what degree Spenser's conception and execution were controlled and guided by contemporary criticism; to discover how far his genius transcended such limitation, and to point out his contribution, through the two forces of art and genius, to our national literature.

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Chapter II.

Spenser's Aim and Choice of Subject: Complexity of motive.- Early mention of Faerie Queene.- Letter to Raleigh.- Moral instruction the avowed aim.- Ulterior aim political preferment.- Moral function of literature a critical necessity.- Allegoric interpretation of imaginative literature.- Delight combined with instruction.- Poets the counsellors of Kings.- Tradition of patronage.- Spenser's own views.- Choice of romance as medium.- Critical authority for choice.- Conclusion.

The complexity of motive which enters into Spenser's conception of the Faerie Queene is commensurate with the general comprehensiveness of his design. His aims may be divided into three main streams, but from them there issue a number of cross-currents. His avowed aim is moral instruction. Transcending this, is a desire for literary expression. Ulterior to both, yet of determining strength, is the attainment of literary preferment.

The author's choice of a subject and medium is too intimately bound up with his purposes for separate consideration. The themes shall, therefore, be developed together as they appear in the forecasts and exist in the poem, with, however, especial emphasis upon two phases as being more independent or individual in conception. These phases are the choice of romance as a medium, and Spenser's theory of an ethic philosophy destined to be developed into a policy of statecraft.

It is most fortunate for all students of Edmund Spenser that the poet has left in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh an express statement of his initial purpose and at least a partial explanation of his allegory; while earlier statements, embodied in the work of Lodovic Bryskett[1] and in letters to Harvey, throw additional light on his plans. The

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[1] In a recent article (P.M.L.A., ~~XXIII~~ 831-850, 1915) Prof. Erskine impugns the evidence of Bryskett's work. He bases his argument upon two points: Bryskett has translated his Discourse almost literally from Giraldi's ~~Cinthio's~~ Tre Dialoghi della Vita Civile; he has included among his guests

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vastness, however, of the work attempted, the social and political changes which took place during the time of composition, as well as

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two men whose simultaneous presence was impossible. The arguments do not completely invalidate Bryskett's testimony. The date of composition as reckoned by Child (Ed. of Spenser, V. I, p. XXIV) lies between 1584-1589, ~~because~~ as Dr. Long, Primate of Armagh (one of the guests) held his office only during that period. Grosart places the date between 1582-83 because the presence of Capt. Warham St. Leger was possible only between those years. (Ed. of Spenser, V. I, p. 149) Bryskett's frank admission of his sources and the substitution of his friends as interlocutors disarms suspicion, and there is no necessity, because ~~Bryskett made a translation into which he introduced his friends and~~ conventionalized ~~the~~ situation ~~to the~~ accepted literary setting, for the supposition that there had been no similar meetings between him and his friends at which like topics had been discussed.

The psychology of the situation is most convincing. Here was a small group of Englishmen in unfriendly Ireland; they were practically equal in social rank; they were associated in either the civil or military administration of government; they had, presumably, common literary or cultural interests; four at least were Cambridge men. There is nothing more probable than that such a group should embrace the opportunity for social meeting and discussion. The unexpected or temporary presence of one in Dublin would readily occasion such a gathering of the others as that described by Bryskett. The dating offered by Dr. Grosart rests not upon the ~~positive~~ but probable (as he considers) absence from Dublin of Warham St. Leger. There were two of that name, both holding military and civil office in Ireland, the one from 1574-1600, the other from 1579-1590. The two, uncle and nephew, are often confused, and so far as evidence afforded by the meagre material accessible to me is concerned, either could have been present at the famous meeting. The date for the meeting would seem to be limited by Dr. Long's tenure of office. It is possible a further limit may be placed through Capt. Carleil's presence in Ireland. He first received appointment there under Sir John Pierrot, in 1584, but was recalled to England in 1585, whence he accompanied the expedition of Sir Francis Drake to San Domingo. His second appointment in Ireland was in 1588. (Dict. Nat. Biog.) If he made one of ~~a Bryskett~~ party, the date of the meeting must correspond to one of these periods.

As regards the authenticity of Bryskett's statements, a sharp distinction ~~otomy~~ should be observed in the intention of his address to Lord Grey de Wilton and introductory material, and the intention of the body of his translation. In the latter he intends to place before the public one of the popular themes of the day "for the instructing of a Gentleman in the course of a virtuous life": to increase the efficacy of this he turns confessedly to Piccolomini for aid; to increase the interest, with equal frankness he substitutes the names of his friends. In the former he addresses Grey directly and expresses his gratitude. He proceeds with circumstantially graphic detail to explain the occasion of the Discourse. Among his guests are: "Dr. Long, Primate of Armagh, Sir Robert Dillon, Knight, M. Dormer the Queenes Sollicitor, Capt. Christopher Carleil, Capt. Thomas Norreis, Capt. Warham St. Leger, Capt. Nicolas Dawtrey, and M. Edmond Spenser late your Lordship's Secretary, and Th. Smith Apothecary." (p.6) Later there follows the renowned speech of Spenser (to be quoted later). With Bryskett's Discourse begins the translation proper.

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natural developments within the poem have led to some departure from the original plan.[1]

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[1] These changes demand more than a passing notice. Spenser prefaces his work with a letter addressed to his patron for the time being, and dates it January 23, 1589, almost two months after the book was entered at the Stationers' Company (Dec. 11, 1589). The discrepancies existing between the plan as outlined in this letter, and the actual execution of the poem, embrace changes of plot which, had they been carried out, would have necessitated the rewriting of large sections of the poem. These discrepancies are discussed in the chapter on structure. In view of this incontrovertible situation, explanation is practically limited to three hypotheses: the poet had forgotten the plan of his own story; extensive revisions were made between the date of this letter and the appearance of the poem in 1590; the letter was an argument or glosse, either embodying the mere inception of the poem or attached to an earlier version, and was hastily modified into an address to a noble patron. Any of these hypotheses involves the assumption of almost incredible carelessness; yet when it is recalled that in the edition of 1596 the poet made an excision from Bk. III of the passage describing the reunion of Sir Scudamour and Amoret, yet failed to provide elsewhere for the meeting, the conclusion is forced that he is capable of just such incredible negligence. Of the three hypotheses the last is most plausible. Spenser in his letter of April, 1580, to Harvey, asks the return of his Faerie Queene: and states that his Dreames are grown "by meanes of the Glosse ----- full as great as my Calendar." If in two works of the same period Spenser felt it advisable to employ the aid of E. K. to explain his meaning, it is reasonable to suppose that when so obscure and intricate a work as the Faerie Queene was submitted to the critical judgment of Harvey, it was accompanied by some explanatory comment, such as the letter to Raleigh. Such an "argument" was also likely to be affixed to the manuscript in its private circulation among other friends. In view, therefore, of the discrepancy between the stated plan and the execution, it may be reasonably concluded, the plan antedated the completed work by a

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The men named above are not, with the exception of Spenser, famed in literary circles; and there is therefore no temptation for an aspiring author to add atmosphere to his work through their feigned presence. They were well within the limits of Bryskett's social circle. The statement in regard to Spenser's work tallies with existing conditions. The succeeding translation, distinguished as such, in no way invalidates the integrity of introductory material substantiated in part by actual fact; therefore the burden of proof lies with him who denies the occurrence of such a meeting, and in this thesis it will be assumed to have taken place. The actual truth possibly lies between the two extremes of fact and fiction. All of these men were known probably to Bryskett, and visited him singly or in groups. Most probably he had heard from Spenser's own lips the speech which he recorded. If in adding an introduction to an earlier work, occasions through the haze of time were less sharply defined, and Bryskett concentrated many memories in one and so conventionalized his work, who can wonder, and who can tell? He says his friends "taking their leaves departed towards the Citie" (p.279). If the phrasing merited investigation, it could probably be duplicated half a hundred times in similar situations of Italian literature; but who is there who can say the

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The first mention of the Faerie Queene occurs in a letter from Spenser to Harvey dated April 2, 1580. He writes, "Nowe, my Dreames and Dying Pelicane, being fully finiſhed (as I partelye ſignified in my laste Letters) and presently to be imprinted, I wil in hande forthwith with my Faerie Queene, whyche I praye you hartily ſend me with al expedition; and your frendly Letters, and long expected Iudgement wythal, whyche let not be ſhorte, but in all pointes ſuche as you ordinarily use, and I extraordinarily deſire." Harvey's reply to this appeal is slow in coming: then he apologizes: "In good faith I had once againe nigh forgotten your Faerie Queene; howbeit by good chaunce I haue nowe ſent hir home at the laste, neither in better nor worſe caſe than I founde hir. And muſte you of neceſſitie haue my iudgement of hir indeede? To be plaine, I am voyde of al iudgement if your Nine Comoedies, whereunto in imitation of Herodotus, you giue the names of the Nine Muses (and in one mans fanſie not vnworthily) come not neerer Ariostoes Comoedies, eyther for the fineneſſe of plau ible Elocution, or the rareneſſe of Poetical Inuention, then that Eluish Queene doth to his Orlando Furioso, which not-with-ſtanding, you wil needes ſeeme to emulate, and hope to ouergo, as you flatly professed yourself in one of your last Letters."---------- After a brief discussion

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period of time exceeding that indicated by the date of the letter

In regard to the literal significance of this date there is some doubt. In England March was counted as the first month of the civil year. Usage was, however, not uniform, hence Jan.23,1589 may have the significance of today, or may mean Jan.23,1590. Unfortunately, Spenser has left but two datings which fall within the debatable period between January first and March twenty-fifth. These lack conclusive external relations. Prof.Dodge (Ed.of Spenser) discusses the date of Daphnaïda, Jan. 1,1591, and decides in favor of the modern significance. In neither case is there conclusive evidence, but in view of Raleigh's visit to Spenser in the summer of 1589, and their subsequent visit together to England, it is probable the Argument of the poem was addressed to him through gratitude for his patronage, and that the date is of the old style and signifies Jan.23,1590. ~~It is quite possible that a man should date his letters differently at an interval of ten years.~~

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of comedy as a genre in which "— it hath bene the vſual practiſe of the most exquisite and odde wittes in all nations, and ſpecially in Italie, rather to ſhewe, and aduance themselues that way, than any other:" the mentor returns to the original point--"But I wil not ſtand greatly with you in your owne matters. If so be the Faerie Queene be fairer in your eie than the Nine Muses, and Hobgoblin runne away with the Garland from Apollo; Marke what I saye, and yet I will not say that I thought, but there an End for this once, and fare you well, till God or ſome good Aungell putte you in a better minde."

The above is the first hint of Spenser's plan or hope, and Harvey's negative comments assume significance only in the light of his well-known critical attitude and his relations with Spenser.

To an earlier letter we owe a concrete suggestion which seems, in a measure, to foreshadow the theme of the Faerie Queene. Spenser has written (Oct. 5, 1579) that he will shortly set out for France on my Lord Leicester's business; Harvey replies: "And, think you I will leaue my Il Pellegrino so? No I trowe. My Lords Honor, the expectation of his friendes, his owne credite and preferment, tell me, he muſte haue a moſte ſpecial care, and good regarde of employing his trauaile to the best. And therefore I am ſtudying all this fortnight, to reade him ſuche a Lecture in Homers Odyſſes, and Vergils Aeneads, that I dare vndertake he ſhal not neede any further instruction in Maiſter Turlers Trauayles, or Maiſter Zuingers Methodus, Methodus Apodemica: but in his whole trauaile abroade, and euer after home, shall shewe himselfe a verie liuelye and abſolute picture of Vlyſſes and AEneas. Whereof I haue the stronger hope he muſte needes prove a most capable and apt ſubiecte (I ſpeake to a Logician) hauing the ſelfe ſame Goddesses and Graces attendant vpon his body and mind, that evermore guided them, & their actions: eſpecially ye ones Minerua,

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and the others Venus: that is (as one Doctor expoundeth it) the pollitique head, and wiſe gouernement of the one: and the amiable behauiour, and gratious courtesie of the other: the two verye principall and moste ſingular Companions, of a right Trauailer."

Harvey's heavy humor touches here upon a cardinal interest of the Renaissance, and the central motif of the Faerie Queene, the purpose to create a gentleman wise in politics, noble in morals, and courteous in society.[1] In this passage, Harvey by no means suggested a theme for the Faerie Queene; he merely gave voice to the conventional idea of Ulysses and AEneas which had entered the public mind as a practical and imitable standard, and ~~posited~~ emphasized the ~~Greek~~ two great epics as moulding forces in the civilization of man. Some years later Spenser, in his own eyes an exile in Ireland, speaks to a little band of his fellows, gathered in the cottage of Lodowick Bryskett.[2] These men are presumably intent upon creating among themselves a literary circle to foster the interests from which they are widely separated. Spenser ~~was~~ asked to speak upon moral philosophy. He refuses: "For ſure am I that it is not vnknowne vnto you that I haue already vndertaken a work tending to the ſame effect, which is in heroical verſe, vnder the title of a Faerie Queene, to repreſent all the moral vertues, aſſigning to euery virtue a knight to be the patron and defender of the ſame: in whoſe actions and feates of armes and chiualry the operations of that virtue whereof he is the protector, are to be expreſſed, and the vices & vnruly appetites that oppoſe themſelves againſt the ſame to be beaten downe & ouercome. Which

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1 Cf. Castiglione: The Courtier, Tr.by Hoby, Sir Thos.Elyot: Boke named the Governour,1531; Bullein: Dialogue against the feyer Pestilence; Piccolomini: ~~1542~~: Della Institutione Morale--dell ~~Ho~~mo, 1542, Editions in 1543,1545,1552,1560. Tr.into Fr.by Pierre de Larivey, ~~Champenois (Paris~~ 1581],) Bryskett,Lodowick: A Discourse of civill Life: containing the Ethike part of Morall Philosophie,London,1606. Bryskett: Trans.of Giraldi ~~Cinthio's~~ three dialogues: Dell allevare et ammaestrare i figliuoli nelle vita civile. See also Ch.VIII, Note.

2 V. Supra.

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work, as I haue already well entred into, if God ſhall pleaſe to ſpare me life that I may finiſh it according to my mind, your wiſh [M. Bryskett] will be in ſome ſort accompliſhed, tho perhaps not ſo effectually as you could deſire."[1]

Thus was the Faerie Queene heralded, and ~~eight~~ some years later, Spenser, under the encouragement of the ever buoyant spirit of Sir Walter Raleigh, returned to the Court he had left ten years before, and laid his work at the feet of Gloriana.

No serious work upon the Faerie Queene can be undertaken without including Spenser's prefatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, for despite discrepancies already noted and to be discussed later, only through this medium can be conceived the unwieldy comprehensiveness of his design, and the pervasiveness of critical thought in his intention and expression.

His poem is "a continued allegory or darke conceit", which he explains "for avoyding of gealous opinions[2] and misconstructions", and "to discover unto you the general intention and meaning, which in the whole course thereof I have fashioned, without expressing of any particular purposes or by accidents there in occasioned. The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline:[3] which for that I conceived should be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historical fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read, rather for variety of matter than for profite of the

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[1] A Discoorse of Civill Life: Containing the Ethike part of Morall Philosophie. Fit for the in tructing of a Gentleman in the courſe of a vertuous life. By Lod. Br., London, 1606, pp. 26-27.

[2] Literary Commonplace: Cf. Preface to Giraldi's Discorsi, and Minturno: L'Arte Poetica: Intro., p. 9.

[3] Sidney: Def. of P., p. 30. In defense of poetry, he urges: "For by what conceit can a tongue be directed to speak evil of that which draweth with it no less champions than Achilles, Cyrus, AEneas, Turnus, Rinaldo? Who doth not only teach and move to a truth, but teacheth and moveth to the most high and excellent truth; who maketh magnanimity and justice shine through all misty fearfulness and foggy desires.

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ensample,[1] I chose the historye of King Arthure, as most fitte for the excellency of his person,[2] being made famous by many mens former workes,[3] and also furthest from the daunger of envy,[3] and suspition of present time." Thus Spenser states the primary aim of his poem as moral instruction: "In which I have followed all the antique poets historicall: first Homere, who in the persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governour, and a vertuous man, the one in his Ilias, the other in his Odysseis; then Virgil, whose like intention was to doe in the person of AEneas: After him Ariosto comprised them both in his Orlando; and lately Tasso dissevered them againe, and formed both parts in two persons, namely that part which they in philosophy call Ethice, or virtues of a private man, coloured in his Rinaldo; the other named Politice in his Godfredo."

By such a citation of authority, Spenser not only justifies the epic character of his theme, but clearly defines the Renaissance interpretation of its great poems. He further lifts his work to the dignity of philosophy,[4] through his conception of the virtues: "By the ensample of which excellente poets, I labour to pourtraict in Arthure before he was king, the image of a brave knight perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised, the which is the purpose of these first twelve bookes: which if I finde to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encoraged to frame the other part of polliticke vertues in his person, after that hee came to be

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[1] Cf. Ascham: The Schoolmaster: p.83. Chapman: Pref. to Tr. of the Iliad: To The Vnderstander.

[2] V. also Vauquelin: L'Art Poetique, Livre premier, l.413,- In Epic tell the deeds of emperors, kings and princes; Aristotle: Poetics: C.V, 4; ~~Cf.~~ Horace: Ars Poetica, l.73; Daniello: Della Poetica, p.34; Trissino: Della Poetica, ii, 112 sq.; Scaliger: Poet~~ics~~, ~~III, xcv~~, Minturno: pp.105-106.

[3] Vauquelin: L'Art Poetique, Livre Second, ~~Ibid.~~ l.1113 sq.- Old subjects are better because the muse unrestrained by the truth of the present, can feign more freely. Muzio: Dell'Arte Poetica, p.82; Ronsard: Preface of Franciade.

[4] V. Supra: Statement to Bryskett.

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king. To some, I know, this methode will seeme displeasaunt, which had rather have good discipline delivered plainly in way of precepts or sermoned at large, as they use, then thus clowdily enwrapped in allegoricall devises. But such, me seeme, should be satisfide with the use of these dayes, seeing all things accounted by their showes, and nothing esteemed of that is not delightfull and pleasing to commune sence.[1] For this cause is Xenophon preferred before Plato, for that the one, in the exquisite depth of his judgement, formed a commune welth such as it should be, but the other in the person of Cyrus and the Persians fashioned a governement, such as might best be: so much more profitable and gratious is doctrine by ensample then by rule.[2] ----------So in the person of Prince Arthure I set forth magnificence in particular, which vertue, for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertue which I write of in that booke. But of the XII other vertues I make XII other knights the patrones, for the more variety of the historye." One more point is to be added: "In that Faerie Queene, I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soveraine the Queene and her kingdome in Faery Land. And yet, in some places els, I doe otherwise shadow her. For considering she beareth two persons, the one of a most royall queene or empresse, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull lady, this latter part in some places I doe expresse in Belphoebe."

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[1] Cf. Sidney: Def.of Poesy,p.26,-"By these,therefore,examples and reasons, I think ~~it may be~~ manifest that the poet, with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually than any other art doth."

[2] Cf. Ibid.: ~~Cf. Sidney: Defense of Poesy~~ pp.8,11,17,19,20.

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In the foregoing quotations is embodied the avowed aim of the poet—moral instruction. Such an aim is in absolute accord with the critical conventions of the age. Poetry must justify itself through moral purpose, but poetry must also please. In fashioning a man "of vertuous and gentle discipline", Spenser follows the Renaissance interpretation of previous epics, and ~~the~~ a popular motif of his age.[1] In his glorification of his queen and country, he again follows an accepted standard of epic theme. If other aims than those clearly stated by the poet are to be sought, they must be looked for in ~~an intrinsic~~ psychological relation, which does not demand verbal expression.

The first of such motives is self expression. Spenser has written: "The noble hart, that harbours vertuous thought,

And is with childe of glorious great intent,

Can never rest until it forth have brought

Th'eternall brood of glorie excellent." F.Q., I, V, 1.[2]

The lines need no gloss from E. K. or any subsequent writer to express the swelling thought and teeming fancy which must make way that the poet's soul may live. To Spenser, a poet was a man apart. The glory of Homer, Vergil, Dante, Chaucer, and the contemporary fame of Ariosto and Tasso had permeated his soul. Fame was the poet's meed, due him from the nobles of the world. The poet, in turn, of his divine

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[1] Harvey (Letter-Book) stated in a letter to Spenser that "~~the~~ ſchollars in ower age are------rather active than contemplative philoſophers: covetinge above alle thinges under heaven to appeare sumwhat more then ſchollars if themſelves wiste howe;----And nowe of late forsoothe to help countenance oute the matter they have gotten Philbertes Philosopher of the Courte, the Italian Archoby hoppes brave Galatro, Castiglioes fine Cortegiano, Bengalassoes Civil Instructions to his Nephewe Seignor Princisca Ganzar; Guatzoes newe Discourses of curteous behaviour, Iouios and Raffellis Emblemes in Italian, Paradines in Frenche, Plutarche in Frenche, Frontines Stratagemes, Stratagemes, Polenica, Apodemica, Guigandine, Philippe de Comines, and I knowe not howe many outlandishe braveryes besides of the same stampe."

[2] Cf. Plato: Symposium-(Jowett, p.579)- Souls that are pregnant conceive beauty and wisdom.

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gift, bestowed fame upon lesser mortals.[1] He is chosen to

"--- sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds,
Whose praises having slept in silence long,
Me all too meane, the sacred Muse areeds
To blazon broade emongst her learned throng:
Fierce warres and faithfull loves shall moralize my song."

F.Q., Prol. St.1.

As has been seen from Spenser's avowed aim of moral instruction in this his greatest work, his most serious, if not his primary, conception of poetry was an ethic one. This view was undoubtedly tempered by the more hedonistic attitude sanctioned by criticism, and demanded by a reading public. He must, moreover, have struggled against a strong personal bias, for his work shows at times a rapt delight in beauty and pleasure, both in external details and in a delicate intensity of sensuality. But from his critical standpoint, and from the purpose and dignity of his work, there can be no room for doubt that Spenser desired to create a noble ethic philosophy as the memorial of his fame, and that he, at times, viewed with some regret the exigencies which militated against this design. There is an echo of this regret in the closing lines of the first book of the Faerie Queene:

"Therfore do you, my rimes, keep better measure,
And seeke to please, that now is counted wise mens threasure."

F.Q., I, xii, 41.

The poet's fine nationalism lives in the whole poem. It is true

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[1] Ded. to Eliz.; Ded. Sonnets: to Cumberland,- "For honor of your name and high descent": to Walsingham,- "---perhaps ye may her rayse In bigger times to sound your living prayse"; to Sir John Norris,- "Love him that hath eternized your name."
Charles IX, King of France, wrote in verses to Ronsard:
"Tous deux egalement nous portons des couronnes;
Mais, roi, je la recus: poete, tu la donnes."
also ~~Cf.~~ Scaliger: Poet~~ices~~, ~~Lib.~~I, ~~p.~~4; Muzio: Il Gentilhuomo, p.274; Salviati: Orazioni (1575) p.40; Bruno: Gli Eroici Furori, p. 384.

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the choice of subject is in accord with conventional principles; his genealogies but follow Varro, Vergil and others in the mythological Trojan ancestry; his adulation of Elizabeth, fulsome as it may seem at times to later eyes, was again strictly in accord with literary custom, and should one recall the long ancestry of Greek and Latin panegyric, or turn again the leaves of his Vergil or his Tasso, or read the dedications of the Italian Renaissance, or read the long poems declaimed before Elizabeth on her royal Progresses, he will see that Spenser has handled a prescribed theme with the grace, effectiveness, and restraint born of genius. But despite the critical guidance evident in his work, there is an underlying sturdiness of English nationalism. England is great; she is reaching out to the New World:

"And daily how through hardy enterprize
Many great regions are discovered,"--

"Indian Peru", the "Amazons huge river", and "fruitfullest Virginia"; she has proudly defended herself against the power of Spain and crushed the great Armada; she has given succor to oppressed Belgium; in Ireland she asserts her stern right to quell rebellion; imperial Rome no longer can reach out her greedy hand to England. At home all is secure, through the prosperity and power of peace, and it is in the great Elizabeth all this glory centres.

At this late day, and under the disillusioning knowledge of her personal character, it is difficult to reconstruct the enthusiasm felt for Elizabeth by her subjects. The whole vivid life of the Renaissance with its wealth of aspiration, both individual and national, must be recreated, and at its centre must be placed the queen, cause, symbol, and power. From the young poet, who at most spent but a few months of his life on the edge of the Court circle, the unsavory de-

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tails recovered by painstaking scholarship, may have well been concealed. It may be noteworthy that whereas the dedication to the third book is to the Queen as the representative of Chastity, the dedication of the fourth is a richer appeal to harbor love. This, however, is only in accord with the general scheme of the poem. It may be, too, the Renaissance was more generous in its estimate of a woman who, exercising the power and function of a man, claimed for herself the same freedom from conventional morality. Other women endued with regal power have done the same with equal immunity from contempt.

But these are idle speculations. The enthusiasm of her subjects for Elizabeth is an historical fact better authenticated than remnants of scandal. In this enthusiasm Spenser shared. There are few more beautiful tributes in the English language than the poet's defense of Elizabeth in the execution of Mary. Nowhere else except in his Epithalamion has the poet so simply and entirely revealed himself, and spoken from his heart. Its perfection is the art which conceals art, for in this defense the poet's artificiality drops from him; simple and clear the verses run, and nowhere else is there such poetic condensation and swiftness. All the words are pregnant. The allegoric figures press one upon the heels of another; clear and stern is their witness, and the end is soon. One might almost read between the lines that the poet sought to excuse in his own eyes a flaw in his ideal.

Spenser's nationalism also appears in his laudation of English poets, and in his emulation of Chaucer. This ~~[illegible]~~ has been discredited by some scholars, but this ~~[illegible]~~ is demonstrated not in the theme of Book IV, the unfinished tale of the Squire, nor in Court of Love descriptions, which are so conventional as to make the demonstration of definite sources ~~of~~ doubtful ~~probation~~, nor yet in the borrowing of stray lines,[1] but in his use of

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[1] F.Q., IV, 2, 32, 1.

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language. Here, in his use of old words, and in his endeavor to enlarge, restore and improve the vernacular, Spenser felt himself to be the true successor of

"Dan Chaucer, well of English undefyled,
On fame's eternall beadroll worthie to be fyled."

F.Q., IV, ii, 32.

A further expression of nationalism may be found in his determination to wrest from Italy and Ariosto the glory of having produced the greatest epic of the age,[1] and to transfer such fame to himself and to England.

And last in this self expression comes the poet's inner nature. It has been said that the Faerie Queene is an expression of the Renaissance; it is also an expression of the personality of the poet. In intellectual conception it is serious, moral and earnest. The application of moral theory in the elaborate allegoric structures almost reaches the confines of puritanism. From this, the recoil to sensuous beauty, the sheer delight in beauty of physical form, the heaping up of all that may enchant the eye, charm the ear, and lull the senses to an exquisite languor, marks the man of the Renaissance who enjoys a frank analysis of his physical senses. His loyalty to friends is a part of his high seriousness, and a little bit of native bull-dog independence and self-respect adds fibre to a nature which may otherwise have been too plastic. His love of learning, and the encylopaedic nature of his mind are shown in the varied material of the great poem. Everywhere is displayed the finished art which in his eyes overgoes nature. And last, his wealth of imagination, not creative but adaptive,

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[1] There can be no question that the contemporary popularity of the Orlando Furioso far exceeded that of the Gerusalemme Liberata.

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adds episode after episode, one detail after another, until the whole is a fabric wrought with shimmering jewels of thought and with the embroidery of elaboration. Through all shines his ambition; fame is the one attainment that makes this life great and immortality certain.

The means to this great end lay in political preferment. There existed in the Renaissance a curious double attitude toward the poet which is difficult of concise analysis. Theoretically, he was endowed with God-given genius; he had it within his power to confer immortality; his mission was to uplift and instruct; as a teacher he was honored among men; and he was the companion of nobles and kings. Practically, professional authorship was scorned by men of secure position.[1] On the other hand, it was the ladder of ambition by which men climbed. Litorary accomplishment was not only a part of the training of a gentleman, (in the well-rounded ideal of the Renaissance,) it was a necessary preliminary for statesmanship. In consequence of this conception, statesmanship became the ultimate goal of the ambitious litterateur. Moreover, ~~the~~ political preferment ~~of~~ through patronage offered to the scholar the only dignified means of support, cut off as he was by convention from professional authorship. And the service of Church or State offered the only avenues of advancement to a man not born within the privileged class of the nobility.

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[1] Spenser (Letter, Oct.5,1579) writes he fears to publish lest he "seeme rather for gaine and commoditie to doe it." The evidence for this attitude could be multiplied indefinitely, but the clearest statement is to be found in the dialogue of Thos.Lupton, Sinqila (1587) (Grosart's Occasional Issues, V.15, p.53.) Great professional men are not authors in England. "It is with us quite contrary, for they that hope to attain to any great office, beare any rule, or come to any preferment, thinke scorne (though they are able) to penne or publish any Bookes (though the matter be neuer so good, necessarie or honest), and wherefore think You? forsooth because most peruersely and peeuishly they should be of the higher sorte disdained, of their equals dispraised, of their inferiors derided, of the profited thereby not thanked, and of some they cannot amend it detracted. So that (but what reason is in it I know not) the most part with us think it is as unseemely, for one that is in authoritie or beares rule, to publish and [= an] woorke, as it is for a Pedlar to preach,---." Moreover, neither the Arcadia nor the Defense of Poesy were published during Sidney's life.

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To Edmund Spenser who, despite the obscurity which veils his ancestry, exercised an undisputed claim to the title of a gentleman, such patronage was the only hope. Despite his boast of "an house of auncient fame", Spenser seems peculiarly destitute of family ties, or else, with the impenetrable reserve of the ambitious, he hides humble connections. Entered as a charity pupil in the Merchant Taylor's School, as a sizar in Cambridge, and recorded there as a "pore scollar", Spenser held but one key to golden fame and fortune, and that was his literary genius. There was but one lock this key would turn, and that was on the door of the homes of the great.

We have no record of Spenser's first acquaintance with Sidney, but Gabriel Harvey probably met ~~him first~~ the young nobleman on Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in July, 1578. Harvey came into some prominence (on this occasion) as the orator chosen to welcome the queen, and it is supposed that he commended Spenser to the notice of Leicester, into whose service ~~he~~ the poet entered before the end of the same year. Spenser records in his View of the Present State of Ireland (V. IX, p. 101) having seen the death execution of O'Brian Morrough, which took place on July 1, 1577. There is a record that Spenser was Secretary to Sir Henry Sidney in Ireland, on his third appointment there, from which he was recalled in April and returned in September of 1578. This would help to account for Spenser between the time he left Cambridge in 1576, and the time he dates his letters from Leicester House in 1579. Further, it would show some cause for his reappointment as secretary to Lord Grey, whom Sir Henry visited in 1580, before the former set out for Ireland.

The imperfect record between the years 1576, in which ~~he~~ Spenser left Cambridge, and the year 1580, which finds ~~Spenser~~ him again in Ireland, denotes nothing more than a succession of petty offices for the poet. A rather elaborate legend of intimate relations between Spenser and Sidney and

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Leicester has been built upon the very slender foundation of two short letters from Spenser to Harvey, and a luke-warm criticism accorded by Sidney to the Shepheards Calendar. The clever young poet has sought and obtained patronage in the house of one of the great noblemen of the age, but his letters betray no proud security in his position. He is "minded for a while to have intermitted the vttering of my writings: leafte by euer-much cloying their noble eares, I ſhould gather a contempt of myself, or elſe ſeeme rather for gaine and commoditie to doe it, for some sweetness that I have already tasted." He fears the work is too base "for his excellent Lordship", and he calls to mind how the unfortunate author of the School of Abuse[1] had won contempt for himself by dedicating his work to Sidney, "if at leafte it be in the goodneſſe of that nature to ſcorne." "Suche might I happily incurre entituling My Slomber and the other Pamphlet unto his honor." He warns Harvey to call his "wits and ſenſes togither (----) when occasion is ſo fairly offered of Eſtimation and Preferment. For, whiles the yron is hote, it is good ſtriking, and minds of Nobles varie, as their Estates. Verum ne quid durius." He has commended Harvey to "the twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master Sidny and Master Dyer" who "haue me, I thanke them in some vſe of familiarity." He hopes, fears and thinks he will be dispatched the next week to France on his Lord's business. He asks Harvey to write to him in his absence. "As gentle M. Sidney, I thanke his good Worſhip, hath required of me, and ſo promised to doe againe." The passages have been quoted fully to show how meagre is the ground for basing the conclusion of warm friendship, and to show the poet's attitude of dependent patronage. That this was insecure or little

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[1] Gosson, Stephen: Schoole of Abuse, 1579.

a) This statement should be modified.

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profitable is made certain by the testimony of a letter from Harvey, who, after discussing a poem projected by his brother John, writes: "But euer & euer, me thinkes your great Catoes, Eequid erit pretij, and our little Catoes, Res age quae prosunt, make suche a buzzing & ringing in my head, that I haue little ioy to animate & encourage either you or him to goe forward, vnless ye might make account of ſome certaine ordinarie wages, or at the leaſt-wiſe haue your meate and drinke for your dayes workes. As for my ſelfe, howſoever I haue toyed and trifled heretofore, I am nowe taught, and I truſte I ſhall shortly learne (no remedie, I muſt of meere neceſſitie giue you euer in the playne fielde) to employ my trauayle and tyme wholly, or chiefely on thoſe ſtudies and practiſes that carrie as they saye, meate in their mouth, hauing euermore their eye vppon the Title De pane lucrando, and their hand vpon their halfpenny. For, I pray now, what ſaith M. Cuddie, alias you know who, in the tenth AEgloge of the foreſaid famous new Calendar?

Piers, I haue piped erst ſo long with payne,
That all myne Oten reedes been rent, and wore,
And my poore Muse hath ſpent her ſpared ſtore,
Yet little good hath got, and much leſſe gayne.
Such pleasaunce makes the Graſhopper ſo poore
And ligge ſo layde, when winter doth her strayne.
The Dapper Ditties, that I woont douise
To feede youthes fancie, and the flocking fry,
Delighten much: what I the bett for thy?
They hau the pleasure, I a ſolender prise.
I beate the buſhe, the birdes to them doe flye,
What good thereof to Cuddy can ariſe?

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But Master Colin Cloute is not everybody, and albeit his olde companions, Master Cuddy and Master Hobinoll be as little beholding to their Mistresse Poetry as euer you wist: yet he peradventure by meanes of her special favour, and some personall priviledge, may happely liue by dying Pellicanes, and purchase great landes, and Lordhippes, with the money, which his Calendar and Dreames have and will affourde him."

There must be cited also Spenser's somewhat pathetic brief. "Your desire to heare of my late beeing with hir Maiestie, must dye in it selfe." How much of disappointment does this hide?

It has been shown that Spenser, a poet by nature and a gentleman by birth, yet seemingly destitute of social and political influence, and unfitted by long years of academic training for a life of business, found himself with no future before him save in the favor of the great. His claim to that favor lay in his literary genius.

The direct means to this end lay in bestowing the one gift within his power, immortality,[1] upon those who should rightly minister to his temporal needs. He early began upon his great work. While his adulation of Elizabeth is not the fulsome thing it has appeared to some, and in thus honoring her the poet is well within accepted epic custom, no other epic has so woven its patrons into the very fibre of its being as has the Faerie Queene. Dedicatory sonnets, prologues and invocations pale before the more subtle adulation which embodies virtues as the living patterns of their prototypes, and weaves them into the mazes of a wonderful romance.

Thus the great poem came into being, voicing the soul of the poet in its earnest ethic teaching, speaking his heart in its defense of friends and love of queen and country, revealing his mind in its wide

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[1] See dedicatory sonnets to courtiers.

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learning and scope of material, and proving his genius in its exquisite art of melody and beauty.

An effort has been made to set forth the poet's intention of moral instruction, self-expression and self-advancement, and to clear the way for a more abstract discussion of these aims in relation to the critical tenets of the Renaissance and to artistic creation.

The moral function of imaginative literature was a dominant principle of the Renaissance. It had been discussed in turn by the Greeks, the Alexandrians, and the Romans. With the Christian era, interest in the question redoubled; it awoke anew with the coming of the Renaissance.

This problem of the subject and the purpose of the epic had its inception in the difference between the epics of Homer and of Hesiod.

The Homeric epic handled material freely; it appealed to the imagination and the senses; it was composed for the governing classes; the interests were war, adventure and love; and its primary object was to please. It is true there is a high moral tone; for wisdom, courage, chivalry and generosity are honored; and heroic deeds inspire to action, but translated into modern terms the Homeric epic is heroic fiction. Hesiod however avows his intention to speak the truth,[1] and he sings not the glorious deeds of gods and heroes but the daily life of the common man. Works and Days is a book of homely wisdom, replete with shrewd common sense. Hesiod tells us when to plough, to sow, to reap, how to choose a good wife from a bad, and gives practical rules for getting along in the world. He bids us be honest because it pays, but to give not to

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[1] Works of Hesiod: A Literal Prose Translation: Rev. J. Banker, London, 1901. "Now would I relate what is true, O Perses!" Works and Days, l. 1. "Ye shepherds, dwelling afield, base subjects for reproach, nought but gluttons, we know to sing many fictions

Hesiod: With an English Translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White.
Works and Days: pp. 2-3: "And I, Perses, would tell of true things."
Theogony: pp. 80-81: "Shepherds of the wilderness, - - - - - we know how to speak

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to him who has not given. The Theogony is a work on mythology, invaluable from the primitive nature of the material preserved. Tempting to romance as are the loves of the gods, ~~here no purple veil shields the rites of Venus;~~ the work is a bare genealogy. With the works of Homer are established two classes of poetry, which form the basis of two mooted problems of the Renaissance,- the subject matter of the epic, and the function of poetry.

The strong moral bent of satire and the drama added weight to the didactic function of literature, but with more varied poetic forms the problem grew more complex. Xenophanes[1] made the elegy the medium of philosophic thought and condemned both Hesiod and Homer for attributing immorality to the gods, saying it would be better to write of good deeds. His work marks the first serious effort on the part of philosophers to check the undue influence of poetry on the sensitive Greeks. It should be observed that since poetry was practically the only medium of literary expression, criticism was not directed at poetry as such, but as imaginative literature. This fact was not recognized in the Renaissance, and Plato's strictures upon poetry passed into critical formulae, as Homeric and Hesiodic [illegible] had done. He however established a crux for the Renaissance in the exclusion of poets from the Republic.

The criticism of Plato centres in a concept of poetic form and imaginative creation as a [illegible] unit, and he must be regarded as the champion both of prose form and of reason.

He states: "All creation or passage of non-being into being is poetry or making, and the processes of all art are creative; and the masters of arts are all poets or makers." --- "only that portion of the art which is separated off from the rest, and is concerned with music and metre, is termed poetry, and they who possess poetry

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in this sense of the word are called poets.[1] He arraigns the poet as "third in descent from nature" in the process of imitation, and therefore "thrice removed from the being and from the truth";[2] and as telling a lie, and moreover a bad lie, in representing the changes of the gods, for God is perfect, and therefore never changes.[3] Moreover, certain poetry desires only to give pleasure, and condones, rather than condemns, pleasant vice.[4] Last, poetry "awakens and nourishes and strengthens the feelings and impairs reason", thereby indulging "the irrational nature, which has no discernment of greater or less", and leading to the indulgence of sorrow, laughter, lust and anger, it thus "feeds and waters the passions instead of drying them up"; and so lets them rule rather than be controlled.[5] Therefore he concludes that "hymns to the gods and praises of famous men are the only poetry which ought to be admitted into our state",[6] and that "nothing pleases him more than the rejection of imitative poetry from the State."[7]

In formulating the evil influences of poetry, and in recognizing the ennobling and refining influences of music, Plato assigned to poetry in her true form a moral function, and thus he came to be the accepted champion of this theory throughout the Renaissance.

Aristotle, however, with his analytic mind, recognized the confusion of form and matter. He freed poetry from the limitations of metre by declaring the essential difference between prose and verse to exist not in form, but in content and method of imitation,[8] for a poet is a "maker of plots rather than of verses." He defines poetry rather as an artistic creation based upon imitation of "things as they were or are, things as they are said or thought to be, or things as they ought to be."[9] He contrasts history and poetry, stating that while the former records fact,

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1 Symposium: (Jowett, I, p.575-6)
2 (Jowett III, p.310) Rep., Bk. X, p.597):
3 Rep., Bk. II, p.377): (Jowett, III, 141-4)
4 Georgias (501-503) Jowett: (342) II,
5 Rep., Bk. X, p.605): (Jowett, III, 320.)
6 Ibid., Bk. X, (605): (Jowett, III, 322.)
7 Ibid., Bk. X, p.595): (Jowett III, 305)
8 Poetics (Butcher) C.1, p.9
C.9 pp. 32-37

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the latter imitates what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity, and he concludes: "Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history: for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular."[1]

Plato has asserted that poetry nourishes the emotions rather than the reason; Aristotle cleverly counters, and answers his master's objection with the principle of Catharsis.[2] The emotions pity and fear exist in the human soul; by their exercise ~~as~~ when aroused by imitation, they are eradicated and growth is prevented.

The great critic's view of the ultimate function of poetry is less definitely stated. He introduces the aesthetic element by implication, but does not divorce it from didactic intention. He says that poetry has "sprung from two causes, each of them lying deep in our nature." The first is the instinct of imitation, through which we learn. The act of imitation and the object imitated afford equally universal delight. "The cause of this again is that to learn gives the liveliest pleasure, not only to philosophers but to men in general."[3] In a discussion of tragedy he lays down certain rules that it "may produce the pleasure proper to it";[4] again he states "the wonderful is pleasing",[5] but his strongest pronouncement is that tragedy must not be expected to produce "any and every kind of pleasure, but only that which is proper to it. And since the <u>pleasure</u> which the poet should afford is that which comes from pity and fear through imitation, it is evident that this quality must be impressed upon the incidents."[6]

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1 ~~Arist.~~ <u>Poetics</u>, (Tr. by Butcher:) ~~Ch.~~ IX., p.35.

2 Ibid., Bk. VI, 2, p.23.

3 Ibid., Bk. IV, 2, p.15.

4 Ibid., Bk. XXIII, 1, p.89.

5 Ibid., Bk. XXIV, 10, p.97.; VI, 19, p. 29

6 Ibid., Bk. XIV, 3, p. 49.

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Elsewhere he alludes to the pleasure produced by poetry,[1] but his direct criticism of poets implies a full cognisance of the didactic purpose held by the earlier Greeks.

Hence it must be concluded that in an aesthetic recognition of a hedonistic motive, Aristotle by no means abandoned the ethic principle urged by Plato; but both in his advance and conservatism he established a critical norm which has stood the test of time; for even the purest aestheticism of modern times cannot be entirely separated from an ethic intent.

The respective emphasis laid by Aristotle and Plato upon the two theories of the function of poetry formed the basis of all discussion in the Renaissance, while critical bias veered from one to the other, with the man, the age, and the nation.

Horace, the genial satirist and fit exponent of Roman temper, reduces theory to practical precept. Poets desire either to profit or delight, or else to do both at once; then let precepts be brief that they may be remembered.[2] The elders will condemn a lack of wisdom, the young will damn the dull; then let the poet mingle the useful with the sweet if he would equally please and instruct the reader.[3] Mediocrity in verse is the one unpardonable ~~sin~~ fault;[4] then let not poetry, which was born and created to delight the mind, depart ever so little from her height, lest she fall into the lowest depth."[5] However, he assigns to poetry the conventional mythologic office of priestess, law-giver,[6] and teacher,[7] and adds two new functions; the one is to

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1 ~~Arist.~~ Poetics. (Butcher) Xv, ~~2~~. "Nor should he neglect those appeals to the senses, which, though not among the essentials, are the concomitants of poetry."

2 ~~Horace:~~ Ars Poetica: ll. 33-36.

3 Ib., ll. 341-344.

4 Ib., ll. 372-73.

5 Ib., ll. 377-8.

6 Ib., ll. 391-399.

7 Ib., l. 404.

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seek the smiles of kings,[1] the other to win fame.[2]

Trissino's work is too nearly a paraphrase of Aristotle to demand consideration, but he keeps his eyes fixed distinctly upon the ethic emphasis of Aristotle's theory. He says poets prefer to write of matters impossible yet probable, rather than matters possible yet improbable; they do this to leave either an excellent idea or example for men to follow, just as for the same reason they picture men better than they are.[3] He condemns the useless introduction of base examples, although it is possible to treat of base customs in such a way as to teach men virtue.[4] He gives emphasis to his view by a reference to the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says the philosophic character is that which "invites men to virtue and leads them from vice, a thing which should be the intention of all good poets." Again, he tells us the characters of Homer inspire to virtue, and quotes Plato as saying the poetry of the ancients through its characters gives instruction for life.[5]

Daniello follows Horace in his theory of delightful instruction.[6]

Muzio, another pupil of Horace, displays nevertheless a great advance in aesthetic sense, and while he retains the theory of instruction, he emphasizes pleasure. He bids:

> "Lascia'l uero a l'historia, & ne tuoi uersi
> Sotto i nomi priuati a l'uniuerso
> Mostra che fare, & che non far si debbia."[7]

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[1] Horace: Ars Poetica, ll.404-5.

[2] Ibid.l.400, 345-346.

[3] De La Poetica: Div.IV,p.118.

[4] Ibid. ~~De La Poetica~~, Div. VI, p.121.

[5] Ibid., Div. VI.

[6] Daniello: Arte Poetica, p.1D.

[7] Dell' Arte Poetica, Bk.II,p.81-2.

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But he tells us the ancients sought pleasing features:

"----------non gia che la dottrina
Mancasse in loro: anzi la lor dottrina
Era seguir quel piu a l'occhio aggrada.
Non altramente noi con cose elitte
Dourem porger diletto a l'altrui menti."[1]

and that

"Opra di buon poeta e sotto i sensi
Locar le cose, che porgan diletto
A chi prendera in mano il suo poema."

Bembo leans strongly to the aesthetic in every phase of art, but he says poetry was invented by men taught by nature, and its purpose was by stories, under the veil of which truth was hidden, to teach the ignorant.[2]

Cartelvetro openly avows: "la poesia dovesse, solamente dilettare, e non giovare"--; and that whatever moral teaching there was should proceed rather from without and from the acuteness of the reader, than from within the poetry and of the intention of the poet.[3]

Scaliger dwells at length upon the function of poetry. He says, at first the orator sought only to move, and persuaded without learning; the poet sought only to please and while away the hours of leisure; later each borrowed from the other what he lacked.[4] Then poetry added numbers, and next plots for example, and wisdom for teaching.[5] He quotes Horace: "Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit vtile dulci," and concludes, "vt tota Poeseos vis duobus capitibus absoluatur, docendo & delectando", and that the poet who would execute a work near

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[1] Dell' Arte Poetica, Bk. II, p. 80.

[2] Prose Scelte: Gli'Ascolani, pp. 32-33.

[3] Opere Varie Critiche, p. 81.

[4] Poetices, Lib. III, c. 25

[5] "Appositis fa_ bellis pro exemplo sententiis pro praeceptione."

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to the truth, consistent with himself, and seasoned with variety must observe both these principles.[1]

He develops the didactic function more widely, and finds a philosophic point of reconciliation with pleasure. The poet not only interprets what is, but, indeed, what is not as if it were, and represents in what way it could or ought to be. However, the whole purpose does not lie in imitation, for this is only a means to an ultimate end "qui est docendi cum dilectione."[2] Poetry is the most excellent of the arts because it embraces in itself all the others. They represent things as they are, as a speaking picture, "at poeta & naturam alteram, & fortunas plurimas etiam: ac demum sese ipso perinde ac Deum alterum efficit." And since poetry does not, as the other arts, represent, but rather creates things which are more beautiful, the name of poet, or maker, seems rightly granted "non a consensu (commune) hominum, sed a naturae providentia."[3] To this invention, poetry adds philosophy, strategy,[4] and politics,[5] and whatever the orator discourses in the forum "de vita vitiis, virtutibus----- Quae omnia eodem animo tractat Philosophus et Poeta: uterque vel ex sua vel alterius persona",[6] and the best poet is he who "civis commonefacere sciat, ut fiant meliores."[7] But since truth is the equation of

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1 Scaliger: Poet. Lib. III, C. 25, p.113.

2 Ibid., Book I, p.1.

3 Ibid., Lib. I, Ch. 1, p.3.

4 Ibid., Lib. I, C. 2: "Imperatorem consilia----quae Graeci στρατήγημα nominant."

5 Ibid., Lib. VI, C. 2: "Poesim vere esse politiae partem quae sub legis latore quamquam alia facie atque colore, continetur: Nam quae iussa sunt in legibus, quae sunt apud concionatorem, moderatoremque populi suasiones: hae poetices opera certa atque, separata, comparabuntur quibusdam amoenitatibus ad institutionem ciuitatis."

6 Ibid., Lib. I, C. 1, p.3.

7 Ibid., Lib. I, C. 2, p.1.

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speech with fact,[1] and there is a certain form of desired action which philosophers call right reason, the question is "Quid igitur poeta docet?" Does he ~~merely~~ merely arouse a mental interest, or does he through this mental interest incite to action? Aristotle has said that "the poem may be compared to that regulation of the state which leads us to happiness: but happiness is not other than perfect action: therefore the poem does not lead only to a following of manners or an attitude of mind, but to action itself." Scaliger concludes: "Docet affectus poeta per actiones: vt bonos amplectamur atque imitemur ad agendum: malos aspernemur ob abstinendum. Est igitur actio docendi modus: affectus, quem docemur ad agendum, quare erit actio quasi exemplar, aut instrumentum in fabula: affectus vero finis. At in eiue actio erit finis, affectus erit eius forma."[2]

Scaliger's defense of the moral function of poetry is sound and analytic, Minturno's is enthusiastic. He is the panegyrist of didactic poetry. To the divine and gifted nature which characterizes the poet must be added an almost universal knowledge, that he may teach and incite his hearers rather than delight them or win fame for himself.[3]

Poetry is the most powerful agent "----quo pueros ad omnem disciplinum possis informare; uiros ad uirtutes omnes hortari, seniores in optimo statu retinere, aut si repuerascere incaeperint, ad pristinam firmitatem reuocare, populum mira cum uoluptate erudire, ac rapere quô uelis, unde libeat adducere."[4] For how may boys be more easily incited to learn, men be more interested, or the elders more strongly aroused than by stories? -- "Iam uero quid est quod uberius oblectet, quod potius moneat, quam doctum & elegans sane carmen?"[4] There is nothing sweeter, more grave, more ardent, more moderate, nor yet more

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[1] Ibid. Lib. I, c. 1, p. 2.

[2] Ibid. Lib. VII, c. 3, pp. 347-48.

[3] De Poeta, Bk. I, p. 5.

[4] Ibid. Bk. I, pp. 8-9.

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sublime.[1] Poetry embraces and imparts all the knowledge of philosophy, science , state, and religion, and the poet knows these by right of his divine nature.[2] It is the function of the poet to place before the eyes the form of the soul just as Vergil has placed before us the pious and magnanimous Aeneas, as an example of justice and courage, a thing he could never have done if the image had not existed in his own soul.[3] Minturno regards poetry as an ocean of all discipline, into which all things may pass and thence be drawn again,[4] and moreover, all the beauty and art of poesy should be neglected rather than the quality of preeminence in learning and divinity, by which it reaches to the gods, and through which God is interpreted by poets.[5]

The views of critics could be multiplied indefinitely, and little variety found. Scaliger and Minturno have been cited at length as two of the most authoritative critics of the Renaissance. It is more than probable that their works were as familiar to Spenser as they were to Sidney, in whose Defense of Poesy their influence is evident.

The French critics are too much concerned with practical details to care much for abstract questions of poesy. Du Bellay calls up some memories of Minturno in his ideal poet, whom he endows with excellent

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[1] Ibid., Bk. I, p.13.

[2] Ibid., Bk.I, p.18; Bk.2, p.87.

[3] Ibid., Bk. I, p.25.

[4] Ib., Bk.I, p.19. "Quam ob rem meo quidem animo Poetica est Oceanus omnium disciplinarum, quo illae omnes sic confluent, ut inde ortum habuerunt, atque ut aurea illa rerum catena, quod est apud Homerum, ad coeli uerticem alligata unde connexa pendit, eodem retorquetur, ita ingenuae vis artes serie & continuatione quadam aptae sunt & conjunctae, in eandem hanc vim primariam sese conserunt, ex qua illae erant deductae.

[5] Ib. Bk.I, p.62. "At non eadem carminis maiestate, non eddem numerorum pedumque moderatione, non eadem sententiarum grauitate, non iisdem luminibus uerborum, non eddem rerum uarietate, non eadem operis denique totius pulchritudine, ut praestantiae eius in omni doctrina diuinitateque, illam praetermittamus, qua Deos attingit, Deus que poetarum efficitur."

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natural ability, and instructs in all the arts and sciences, in mathematics, in the Greek and Latin authors, and in the affairs of life. However, he enjoins upon him no duties save to have a care for his native language.[1]

Sibelet in this connection tells us, "Tous les arts sont tant conjoins avec ceste divine perfection que nous appelons Virtu,--" and that close to divinity is "la felicité de congnoistre les choses, et la perfection de les bien faire."[2] All this implies some moral element, but urges no didactic function. Ronsard goes a step further, and defines early poetry as an allegoric theology devised by Eumolpus, Acropius, Livius, Orpheus, Homer and Hesiod to make truth acceptable to men. He, however, calls poets rather human than divine, because their work savors rather "d'artifice et labeur que de divinité."[3] He also requires of them much practical knowledge of the sciences and professions, that they be just in their presentations.[4] But his ideal poet is one whose conceptions are superhuman and divine, "grandes, belles, et non trainante à terre", for "les Muses ne veulent loger en une ame si elle n'est bonne, saincte, et vertueuse."[5]

In strong contrast to the general indifference of the French to the moral function of poesy stands the didactic concept of the English. As a background for SSpenser's literary consciousness, we have Alfred's earnest desire to provide instruction for his people.[6] Aelfric's metrical Homilies,[7] the

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[1] La Deffense et Illustration, C.V, p.119.

[2] Sibelet: Art Poetique Francoys, p.7.

[3] Abrege de l'Art Poetique, p.318.

[4] Pref. Franciade, pp.19 and 21.

[5] Abrégé --, p.318.

[6] See Preface to Cura Pastoralis.

[7] Lives of the Saints, Ed.by Skeat. E.E.T.S., V.114.

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Poems Morale, the Ormulum, the Debate of the Body and the Soul, the Canticum de Creatione, the Cursor Mundi, the Pearl, Patience, and Cleneness. The spirit which produced and fed upon the great cycles of Morality Plays is no mean element in national consciousness. Gower, Lydgate and Hawes were fitting predecessors of Spenser. There are scattered lines in the metrical romances which warn the reader to take heed by example, but for openly avowed purposes of moral instruction, we must look first to the prefaces of Caxton claim our interest. No publication, whether of philosophy, history, or romance was sent forth into the world unless accompanied by an earnest word from the printer to the reader that he seek in these pages good for his soul,[1] guidance for his life,[2] and incitement by example to action.[3] He makes Chaucer's poems conform to the conventional moral purpose, and hopes that he and his readers "may ſo take and underſtode the good and vertuous tales that it may ſo prouffyte unto the helthe of our ſowles that after thys ſhort and tranſitorie lyf, we may come to euerlaſtyng lyf in heuen." He even applies the same rule to the romance of Blanchardyn and Eglantine[4] (1489), where he says the noble example of courage for "yong gentylmen" and faithfulness for "yonge ladyes" may be as good "as it is to occupye theym and study ouer moche in bokes of contemplacion."

Thomas Berthelet briefly gathers all the accepted motives for writing into the dedication which accompanies his edition of Gower's Confessio Amantis (1532): "There is to my dome/ no man/ but that he may bi

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[1] De Consolatione Philosophiae: Flügel: Neuenglisches Lesebuch, V.I, 302-4; The Golden Legend, Temple Classics, V.I; Caxton (1483) Harvard Classics, V.39.

[2] Game and Playe of the Chesse (1474), Ed. E. A. Axon, pp 4-5.

[3] Recuyell of the historyes of Troye (1474) Epilogue; Godeffroy of Boloyne, E.E.T.S., V.64, pp.1-5; Morte d'Arthur, E.E.T.S.

Lyf of Charles the Grete (1485) E.E.T.S., V.36.

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reding of this warke get right great knowledge/ as wel for the understandyng of many & diuers autors/ whose resons/ sayenges/ & hystories are translated into this warke, as for the plenty of englysh wordes and vulgars, besyde the furtherance of the lyfe to vertue."

Erasmus in his Praise of Folly,[1] Sir Thos. Elyot in the Gouernour,[2] a work of imagination, Skelton in Ware the Hauk,[3] all avow a didactic intention in their work.

The defense of poetry on the part of learned ecclesiastics appeared early in England. Richard de Bury (1345) writes, "The missiles of all sorts which lovers of naked truth only, cast at poets may be warded off by a two-fold shield; because either a graceful turn of language is to be learned, where the subject is impure, or natural, or historical, or truth may be traced where feigned but honest sentiments are treated of under the eloquence of typical fiction." He makes the usual plea that poetry adds charm to study, and quotes Horace as authority. He cites Cassiodorus to the effect that those things are not to be thought small without which the greater cannot exist, and quotes Bede through Gratian: "Some read secular literature for pleasure, being delighted with the fictions of poets and the ornament of their words; but others study them for erudition, that by reading the errors of the Gentiles they may detest them, and that they may devoutly carry off what they find in them useful for the service of sacred erudition; such as these study secular literature laudably."[4]

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[1] Preface to The Praise of Folly (1509): His purpose is "to teach and admonish."

[2] Proheme to The Gouernour: He must use his talent "to the increase of virtue", and is "Wolently ftered to fette fourth fome part of my ftudie, truftynge therby tacquite me of my duetie to god, your hyghness (Henry VIII), and this my contray."

[3] Prologus Skeltonidis Laureati of Ware the Hauk:
"This worke deuysed is
For such as do amys
And specially to controule
Such as have cure of soule."

[4] D'Aungerville, Richard (de Bury) Philobiblon (Tr. Inglis, Albany, 1859), C.XIII, p.151 sq.

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The dedication of text-books also voiced the high moral purpose of all literature, and in them too is to be noted the recognition on the part of students of the backwardness of England in matters of learning, and an earnest purpose to correct such a state.

This early evidence has been dwelt upon at some length both to establish Spenser's literary inheritance and to demonstrate the universality of the conception of the moral function of literature. It was not a mere obsession of critics, but a functional element, accepted both by authors and public.

Thomas Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique (1553) marks the beginning of formal criticism in England. He makes a clear statement of the didactic function of poets, and of the persuasive power of their tales. He attributes a universal allegoric significance to poetry and mythology, and cites Plutarch and Basilius Magnus as authority for his moral interpretation of Homer. All poets, according to him, are wise men who seek the redress of human misery, but they veil their teachings under allegory, either through fear of those they rebuke, or else that only a chosen few may understand.[1] The latter reason carries a biblical echo.

Ascham also attributes an allegorical significance and direct moral teaching to Homer,[2] but he avoids any specific theory of the function of poetry. This can only be gathered inversely through his severe condemnation of the "merye tales of Italie"[3] and the romances.[4] And

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[1] Book III, p.195-6.

[2] The Schoolmaster (1570) pp.76,78-79.

[3] Ibid., p.83-84.

[4] Cf. Dante, who makes Francesca da Rimini confess that the fall from virtue came through reading Lancelot. (Inferno. C. V, ll. 127 sq.)

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while he gives a secondary commendation to the classic poets,[1] he condemns the matter of Plautus and Terence as being "such as in London commonly come(s) to the hearing of the masters of Bridewell," and as "base stuff for that scholar that should become herafter either a good minister in religion, or a civil gentleman in service of his prince and country."[2] His interest in poetry is academic, and centres in two points, the use of classic metre instead of rhyme, and in the development of the vernacular as a flexible medium of literary expression. Toward poetry as a whole, his attitude is antagonistic,[3] and he incidentally quotes Plato and Galen as saying "much music marreth men's manners."[4] His general conclusion is that poetry promotes evil rather than good; hence his constructive view would be that poetry should exercise a moral function.

Somewhat broader in view, but close in thought to Ascham was his great contemporary the Spanish Vives, who from his long residence and his influence in England may be rightly classed among her scholars. Vives brings to the task of criticism a far keener perception and juster appreciation than most of the writers of his day. His incisive comments on poetry and authors reveal a most discriminating taste. Like Ascham, he formulates no theory of what poetry should be, but his caustic strictures on what it is not reveal his position. The harmony, the sublime and brilliant language, the great and lofty spirit of poetry, he commends; but these charms are accompanied by fatal faults. He condemns with Puritan harshness the disgraceful subjects which corrupt the morals and commend vice. He urges the expurgation of the poets, and advises

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1 Ibid., p.180.
2 Ibid., pp.168-169.
3 Ibid., p.180.
4 Ibid., p.120.

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that they be read together with, "as a kind of antidote,"[1] Plutarch's de Poetarum Lectione and Basil's de Legendis Ethnicis.

Ascham and Vives are scholars whose interests lie not in the fields of fancy, but in graver subjects. As educators and as followers of Plato, they are keenly alive to the dangers of poetry, and become biased partisans in what Vives designates as a "long and varied dispute."[2] Lacking creative interest, their criticism has no constructive element, yet both are men of too grave worth and reputation for their views on so fundamental a problem as the moral function of poetry, to be without influence.

In strong contrast with the two last named critics stands Erasmus, another guest scholar of England. The facile, worldly ecclesiastic enjoys the classics, little hampered by moral scruples, and he makes a swift, smooth thrust at the revilers of poesy:"---- it is not with the weapons of argument, but with those of jealousy and abuse, that the battle is fought when any contest arises about Poetry. If they could adapt their ears to reason, nothing could be easier than to convince them. They condemn the impurity of matter which accompanies the beauty of language. Well, we unite in condemning it. They blame an excessive devotion to poetic studies.------If they fairly looked at the epistles of Jerome, they would understand that dullness is not sanctity, nor elegance of language impiety."[3] Erasmus nevertheless so far conforms to convention as to defend satire through its purpose to instruct and reform;[4] panegyric as an example of perfection and an image of virtue,[5] and the value of Terence in education.[6]

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[1] Vives: On Education: Foster Watson. pp.127,145-46.

[2] Ibid., p.158.

[3] Epistles: Ed. Nichols, C.1795, p.408.

[4] Ibid., V.2,pp.1-4.

[5] Ibid., V.1, pp.365-9.

[6] Ibid., V.1,p.157.

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With the crowd of knights who tilt lance in hand for the defense of fair poesy, there is no doubt of her supreme virtue. George Gascoigne is concerned chiefly with the mechanical structure of verse, but he bids "-- let your poeme be such as may both delight and draw attentiue readyng, and therewithal may deliuer such matter as be worth the marking."[1] Whetstone claims for poetry, in unequivocal terms, moral instruction through the example of the good and warning of the evil, and makes a clear statement of poetic justice.[2] Gosson's The School of Abuse, based upon moral rather than literary premises, was a challenge to the Elizabethan litterateurs. The promptness with which the challenge was taken up shows how completely the moral function of poetry had become incorporated as a literary principle. Lodge speaks first. Purged of invective, his Defense merely sums up the conventional arguments; poetry is not literal but allegoric, and hides wisdom under a veil; comedy is a protest against social evils; the study of poetry makes learning delightful and sharpens memory and reason; the great Tully defended poetry;[3] kings, warriors and statesmen have honored poets; poets were the first philosophers and teachers; David, Esaias, Job, and Solomon were poets; the Church fathers were poets; Loctantius has compared the hidden meaning of the scriptures to the lessons of poetry; last, poetry is of divine origin.[4] The pith of his whole argument is the moral function of poetry, with no hint of aesthetic pleasure.

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[1] Certayn Notes of Instruction (1575): Smith's Eliz. Crit. Ess., V.1, p.53.

[2] Ibid., V.1, p.58 sq. The Dedication to Promos and Cassandra (1578).

[3] The much quoted Pro Archia: "Haec studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutum oblectant, secundas res ornant, aduersis perfugium ac solatium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."

[4] Lodge's Defense of Poetry, 1579.

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Richard Stanyhurst centres his attention upon the epic. The "chiefe prayse of a writer consisteth in the enterlacing of pleasure wyth profit." The first will afford the shallow reader a smooth tale, the second goodly fruit to the "diuining searcher."[1]

(Stonyhurst, Harington and Chapman may be grouped together as translators.)

Harington confesses that from a Christian standpoint, poetry, philosophy, and all things are vain in comparison to the soul's salvation, but, he says, "we liue with men & not with saints",[2] and asks -------"what better and more meete studie is there then Poetrie?" He commends the " sweet stateliness of Heroicall Poesie" that lifts the mind to the precepts of philosophy and even divinity, and cites Plutarch's praise of Homer for this same reason, and Tasso's conception of poetry as a sugared medicine for the ill.

He assigns allegory as the pith and marrow of poetry, and extends it to include mythology. Verse is easy to learn and remember, and, last, it is pleasure and sweetness to the ear.[3] He concludes that if comedy is proved to better the beholders, "without all doubt all other sortes of Poetrie may bring their profit as they do bring delight, and if all"---then chief is the "Heroicall."

The three prefaces of Chapman to his two translations of Homer[4] display both dignity and reserve. He quotes Spondanus in the allegorical interpretation of Achilles Shield, and says: "Homer that hath his chiefe holinesse of estimation for matter and instruction, would scorne to have his supreame worthinesse glosing in his courtshippe and

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[1] Dedication to the Translation of the Aeneid (1582).

[2] A Brief Apology for Poetry (1591), p.198. (Eliz. Crit. Essays), V. II.

[3] Ibid., pp.198 sq.

[4] George Chapman: Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere: (1598) To

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priuiledge of tongue." to Chapman Homer is the mirror for all duties.

Three critics have been reserved for the conclusion of this summary because of the more complete and formal nature of their work.

George Puttenham has left the most elaborate English treatise of the age. His critical rulings follow the prescriptive method of Scaliger, and have a practical end in view. As regards the subject and function of poetry, he expresses strictly conventional views, which he tempers with some freedom. The true function of poetry, he says, is to utter the glory of God, the fame of princes, the praise of virtue, reproval of vice, and instruction of moral doctrines, but, since it is also a solace and a recreation, "merry matters" may be allowed.[1]

Webbe (1586) is of especial interest through his knowledge of and admiration for Spenser.[2] His whole theory, set forth in much space, is doctrine with delight.[3] He anticipates Spenser in his interpretation of the purpose of Homer and Vergil.[4] He gives a practical exposition

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[1] The Arte of Englishe Poesie (1589): C.IX and C.X. The subject of poesy "to myne intent is what soeuer wittie and delicate conceit of man meet or worthy to be put in written verse, for any necessary use of the present time, or good instruction of the posteritie. But the chief and principall is the laud, honour and glory of the immortall gods (I speake now in phrase of the Gentiles): secondly, the worthy gests of noble princes, the memoriall and registry of all great fortunes, the praise of vertue and reproof of vice. The instruction of morall doctrines, the reuealing of sciences naturall & other profitable Arts, the redresse of boistrous and sturdie courages by perswasion, the consolation and repose of temperate myndes: finally, the common solace of mankind in all his trauails and cares of this transitorie life: and in this last sort, being vsed for recreation onely, may allowably beare matter not alwayes of the grauest or of any great commoditie or profit, but rather in some sort vaine, dissolute, or wanton, so it be not very scandalous & of evill example."

[2] A Discourse of Englishe Poetrie (1586) pp.232,245-6-7.

[3] Ibid., p.234. "--the right vse of Poetry is: which indeede is to mingle profite with pleasure, and so to delight the reader with the pleasantness of his Arte, as in the mean time his mind may be well instructed with knowledge and wisdome."

[4] Ibid. p.234. The Iliad teaches "a Prince shall learne not only courage and valiantnesse, but discretion also and pollice to encounter with his enemies." p.237. "Vnder the person of Aeneas he expresseth the valour of a

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of allegory, and cites the teaching of the English poets in turn, attributing even to Chauser the moral purpose of rebuke to folly under his pleasant style. He concludes: "this is the very grounde of right poetrie, to giue profitable counsaile, yet so as it must be mingled with delight."

Sidney, the preux chevalier of his age, comes last in this summary for two reasons; first, because of his association with Spenser; second, because his essay is not an Art of Poetry in the technically prescriptive sense, but a broader discussion of the philosophy of poetic art, which in itself summarizes the theory of the age.

In simple statement, he declares poetry to be an art of imitation, ---a speaking picture with this end, to teach and delight. But his noble conception of the method of teaching and the end of delight lifts him above other English critics. The question of mutual influence between Sidney and Spenser, must probably find its only answer in their common knowledge of Plato, Aristotle, Dante, and later Italian critics. Both regard the spirit of poetry as a philosophy, which leads by the paths of learning to virtuous action and ultimate happiness. Sidney's narrower yet clearer mind with incisive swiftness, reached at once the aesthetic conclusion of high thought and noble action, and dwelt upon this delight. Spenser's mind, turgid in its vast comprehensiveness, dwelt upon the means by which this end was to be attained, and reached it through a slow process of moral development. Hence, in Sidney, stress is thrown upon the end, delight; and in Spenser upon the means, moral instruction.[2] Sidney voices the theory, Spenser puts it into effect. The important point, however, lies neither

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[1] Defense of Poesy, (Ed. Cook,) p.9.

[2] A Veue of the Present State of Ireland: pp.116-120. [For continuation of note see p.39x.]

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A direct expression of Spenser's views of the true office of a poet is to be found in his criticism of the Irish bards. There are among the Irish, he says, a certain kind of people called bards, "whoſe profeſſion is to ſett forth the prayſes and diſprayſes of men in theire Poems or rymes;--." These men are held in high regard and also fear, since by their caustic wit they can ruin a man's reputation, and cause either his folly or infamy to come to the ears of all men. Eudoxus asks why these are blamed, for he has always understood that poets in all ages had been held in high respect not only for their "sweete invencons" and "wyttie layes", but because they were "uſed to ſett forth the praises of the good and vertuous, and to beate downe and disgrace the bad and vicyous. Soe that many brave younge mindes have oftentymes, through the hearinge the prayſes and famous Eulogies of worthie men ſonge and reported unto them, benn ſtirred up to affecte the like commendacons and ſoe strive unto the like deſertes." As the Lacedemonians were more aroused by the songs of Tyrtaeus than the exhortations of their captains, Irenius replies: "It is most true that such Poettes as in theire wrytinge doe labor to better the Manners of men, and through the ſweete bayte of theire nombers to ſteale into the younge ſpirittes a deſire of honor and vertue, are worthy to be had in greate reſpecte." But these Irish bards, he says, so far from instructing young men in "Morrall discipline", need to be disciplined themselves, "for they ſeldome uſe to chuſe unto themſelves the doinges of good men, for the ornamentes of their poems", but they set up the most lawless, vicious and rebellious as an example to young men. And, he adds, "these evill thinges beinge deckt and ſuborned with the gay attyre of goodlie wordes, may eaſilie deceave and carry awaye the affeccon of a younge mynde, that is not well stayed, but deſirous by ſome bolde adventure to make profe of himſelfe." He admits, however, that some of the poems "ſavored of ſweete witt and goodly invencon, but ſkilled not of the goodly ornamentes of Poetrie: yet were they ſprinckled with ſome prettye flowers of theim owne naturall deviſe, which gave good grace and comlines unto them, the which yt is greate pittye toſee ſoe good an ornament abuſed, to the gracinge of wickedness and vice, which woulde with good uſage ſerve to bewtifie and adorne vertue."

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in the precise contact nor divergence, of the views of the two critics but in the common interest in criticism, in the search for truth, and in the outcome of theory.

- The long citation of authority which intervenes between the statement of this problem and its solution, is a wearisome digression. Yet in no other way can a problem which engaged the interest of the literary world for centuries, and formed a crux in the criticism of the Renaissance, be adequately presented. Only through the weight of concurrent evidence, only through the universality of its acceptance can it be realized today that the moral function of imaginative literature had come to be in the Renaissance a sine qua non.

From the foregoing summary, it is evident that from the earliest times there existed a double conception of the function of literature, the one aesthetic, the other ethic. Among the well-balanced Greeks, these functions were held in proper proportion by their strong ethic sense and equally strong aesthetic love of form and beauty. In theory, the moral function received more emphasis; in practice the aesthetic was more carefully cultivated, and became dominant among the Alexandrians and the Romans. With the decadence of Latin culture and the rise of the Christian religion and consequent distrust of pagan literature, the moral function once more became prominent. The Christian writers sought to provide an antidote for heathen literature in saints' lives and moral romances. Christian scholars defended their love for the classics by attributing to them a veil of allegory; thus literature, old and new, became moralized. The mystic nature of the new religion, and the example of the New Testament likewise encouraged allegory. Since the learning which supplied the literary standard and source of moral instruction were one, the moral function of literature became firmly imbedded in critical theory. And when, in the Renaissance, criticism rose to the dignity of a literary genre, with a function as definite

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and distinct as that of history, philosophy and romance, it held as a fundamental law, grounded in the development of centuries, and supported by the authority of Plato, Aristotle and Horace, the moral function of literature.

To this function must be added another, that of hedonism. This has two sources. The first, derived from learning, vests pleasure in correct form and beautiful expression. But as art alone carries in herself the germ of self-destruction, in feeding upon her own vitality, she must ever draw new blood from the creative sense of the people; and therein develops the second appeal of pleasure.

Before reaching a final conclusion as to Spenser's aim, it is necessary to consider the example of the poets whom he professed to follow. In the case of Homer and Vergil, there had been established a conventional interpretation of their moral purpose.[1] Dante not only avows his moral purpose, but his whole poem speaks for itself. Tasso has not only set forth his purpose at length, but he has rewritten his poem that it may conform more perfectly to the required moral standard.

Ariosto alone presents at once a difficulty and a solution in the consideration of the Spenser problem. With riotous fancy and absolute daring, he has built upon the foundation of predecessors and drawn upon the rich stores of romance. He has satisfied the demands of invention and variety. He has clipped the claws of criticism by a tone of mockery, which leaves his intention in doubt: does the poet laugh at himself, at the reader, or with both? He has, however, accomplished two notable things: he has carried out one of the great functions of criticism in appropriating

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[1] V. Letter to Raleigh.

Cf. Stonyhurst, Phaer, Chapman, Sidney,- Classic writers.

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and subduing to artistic rule and form the creative material of the folk; and he has achieved success. To certain dull spirits, determined to chew the cherry and taste the medicine, Ariosto offers passages susceptible of moral interpretation.[1] To others, such as the translator Harington, driven by public opinion to justify their own taste, the same passages afford excuse. By Harington, Ariosto's lasciviousness is defended through the example of Vergil,[2] by the principle of decorum,[3] and as an example to deter from evil.[4] Every liberty is met with some excuse, and at last the translator says: "Methinks it is a sufficient defence to say Ariosto does it."[5] In the light of the conventional criticism of the day, it is most probable that Harington correctly interpreted public opinion in regard to Ariosto. Since Spenser accepts the allegoric significance of the Odyssey and the Aeneid, it is probable he also subscribed to Harington's views of Ariosto, and in his last defence found a warrant for much of the freedom exercised in the Faerie Queene.

The theory of the moral function of literature has been thus dwelt upon at length because it is a crux in Spenserian criticism. Hitherto, the most common charge directed against Spenser is that of dull didacticism. However, in view of literary inheritance, of the national attitude, of universal criticism and the example of the great epics, Spenser in his conception of an heroic poem was neither able nor desirous to abandon so vital a principle as moral instruction. To him such a function could but be the very cause of being and glory of his work,[6] and the use of allegory was a national, literary and critical necessity. Hence, we find his moral purpose incorporated in the

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1 Preface to Trans. (1591) pp. 212, 213, 217.

2 Ibid., p. 215.

3 Ibid., p. 215.

4 Ibid., p. 214.

5 Ibid., p. 217.

6 The attitude is well stated by Salviati Lio: Orazione (1575) p. 39:- Sin Lode della Pittora

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formal plan, and designated as a primary aim by the poet.

But in the very presence of such a conclusion, it must be frankly admitted the didactic passages are often spiritless, they are too evident to be artistic, and much of the moral allegory is purely conventional mediaevalism. Here another point must enter for consideration.

It has been stated the poet sought self-expression. He had passed the stage of apprenticeship to art, and now chose a higher medium to convey his thoughts to the world.[1]

"Lo, I the man whose Muse whylome did maske,
As time her taught, in lowly shephard's weeds,
Am now enforced a farre unfitter taske,

Fierce warres and faithfull loves shall moralize my song."

Prol. F. Q., 1, i.

Guided by criticism and his philosophical conception of poetry, Spenser determoned to "moralize" his theme; but beside the theory of moral instruction had grown up another, that of delight, also fathered

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[1] Leicester House, Oct. 5, 1579.

"Per la qual cosa, chi s'andasse souente diportando per la lezzione de Poeti, hauendo sempre come dauanti le virtuose, e le non virtuose azzioni, considerando per l'esempio, che mercede di quelle, e quanta pena si reporti di queste; con suo sommo piacere ne diuerrebbe, quasi non accorgendosene, di necessità costumato. Ma che dico io costumato? E dotto, e prudente, e ripieno di scienze, e di tutte le cognizioni; e finalmente, buono scienziato, e sanio ne diuerrebbe. E done sono sparse piu belle cognizioni, e naturali, e diuine; e done meglio, e con piu breuità, e con piu leggiadria, e con piu maestà (majesty), e con piu maestria, & in guisa che piu, e piu ageuolmente restino impresse nella mente ad altri, che in Homero, in Vergilio, nel Petrarca & in Dante? Esse strignendo i misterii delle cose diuine in graui, & ornate sentenze, & oltre il condir le d'ogni soauità quasi velando le di dubbiose parole, pui dilettevoli, e piu marauigliose inuno stesso tempo ce le fanno apparire."

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by antiquity. In the first letter to Harvey,[1] Spenser inclosed some Latin verses in which he quotes Horace:

"Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulce,"--

and he adds:

"Dij mihi, dulce diu dederant: verum utile nunquam;
Utile nunc etiam, ô utinam quoque dulce dedissent.
Dij mihi (quippe Dijs aequivalia maxima parvis)
Ni nimis invideant mortalibus esse beatis
Dulce simul tribuisse queant, simul utile;"

Whether this is a specific reference to his purpose in the Faerie Queene, it is impossible to say; at least we know that he was engaged upon the work at that time,[2] and that the suggestion is highly applicable to his method. The theory of delight opened for Spenser the doors of his sensual nature, and secure in critical authority,[3] he revelled in beauty. This fact has been recognized, and the aesthetic side of his work has come to be regarded as the true expression of the poet's nature.

To a degree, this is right, but there are several facts which must enter into a correct valuation. No true criticism judges a writer save by the standards of his own age, and no critic has a right to dismiss as a blemish the moral lesson that was an end in itself in the age in which it was conceived. There are two sides to every nature, the intellectual and the sensual. Spenser was a learned scholar, of serious philosophic culture, who wrote for learned men as well as "All the Gratious and Beautifull Ladies in the Court." He was a critic as well as a poet. Therefore to Spenser as philosopher, critic and poet, the

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1 Oct. 5, 1579

2 Letter of Apr. 2, 1580.

3 Castelvetro: Theory of Poetry, p. 592. "Il fine della poetica riguarda il diletto simplice e la recreatione degli 'ascoltanti." Cf. Aristotle: Poetics, p. 29-p. 30; Sidney: Def. of Poesy, pp. 10, 26.

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ethic intention of his poem was the height of poetic conception and achievement. It gave to poetry her true character of philosopher and guide, and was to lift the poet to that star of the Renaissance, Immortality. To him, as critic and poet, the function of delight was secondary in conception. Although an accepted principle in criticism, it was not an end in itself, but rather a handmaid of philosophy. Delight embraces in hemself many features, beauty of form and nature, melody of rhythm, excellence of diction, imitation, invention, and variety. If in the development of these many features the poet seems to be most busily employed, if he lingers too lovingly on sensuous details, if romance usurps the place of philosophy, if exquisite elaboration changes description to a cameo, let it be frankly admitted that here the sensual nature of the poet finds expression; but let it also be remembered that as Platonism has joined the hands of philosophy and beauty, so these two combine to give Spenser a true medium of self-expression, and that in his design philosophy occupied the first place, delight the second. That, through her beauty and charm, the maid should seem to outstrip her mistress both in function and popular estimation, was a matter of grieved surprise to the poet, who must have said with Horace: "Illa laudantur, ista leguntur."

To Spenser as a philosopher and poet must be added a third character, the practical man of the Renaissance. In a consideration of this personality is reached the third purpose of the Faerie Queene, political preferment.

This aim has its roots in two features of the Renaissance life, individualism and patronage. Invention, discovery, reformation, education and wealth opened avenues of advancement on every side. The age throbbed with life, and life with possibility. Men became con-

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scious that they held fate in their own hands. This consciousness of power and the glory of accomplishment urged them on.[1] It was not in vain that philosophy taught that the end of learning and virtue lay in action. Fame was in the grasp of every man, and was the supreme goal of desire.[2] Spenser asks:

> Is ought on earth so pretious or so deare,
> As prayse and honour? Or is ought so bright
> And beautifull as glorie's beames appeare,
> Whose goodly light then Phoebus lampe doth shine more cleare?[2]
>
> F.Q., V, xi, 62. 9

Bound up with the hope of eternal fame, was the practical question of daily life. Harvey writes: "Other schoolepointes & doctrines, but such as have sum prospect to actual commodity, & praeferment do but seduce the student and bring him into A fooles paradise." He adds "The emproofe of witt, wealth; the emproofe of wealth, reputation",--and cites instances of doubtful service to the state, which yet gained favor.[3]

It has been stated that Spenser's future rested upon patronage and political preferment, and that the attainment of these was an ulterior motive in his great poem. Such an aim has been by some schol-

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1 Harvey: Marginalia: (G.C.M. Smith), p.189. Cites Alexander, Pyrrhus and Caesar, who had wealth and power, yet strove for more: "Lord, what continual Toyle they endure, what perpetual aduentures, & ieopardyes: as well nightes as dayes in all weathers, to win glory, & to make proofs of their Vertu & Valour? how much more ought we to besturr and extend owrselves that want all that good is?" ~~Ib.~~, p.194. "A man must take a delicate delight and pryde in euery ~~good~~ thing that concerneth himself, a soueraign conceyt in his own affayres." ~~Ib.~~, p.196. "A man may succeed by being useful." p. 199. "Do everything with effect. Be men of action." p. 200. "Lead a strenuous life, and all is yours. Get all you can." p.201. "Soul is a fire. Study time as well as place. Orator's main weapon is flattery."

2 The Latin verses included in a letter to Harvey (Oct.5,1579) praise the latter as desiring fame above all things which the vulgar crowd adore as divine; Cf. ~~also~~ F.Q., I,v,7-6; II,iii,40-41; III,ii,19.

3 Harvey: Marginalia: pp.106-7.

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ars adjudged unworthy the character of the poet. It need, however, carry no connotation of idle dependence or time-serving. Professional authorship was tabooed for a gentleman, but statesmanship was the laudable ambition of a scholar, and the recognized career of a man of learning.[1] Authorship, condemned as an end in itself, was an excellent passport to royal favor. The Courts offered the most favorable atmosphere for literature and for preferment.[2]

Patronage was a time honored institution justified by ancient and modern example. Aristotle heads the list[3] as the recipient of royal favor. The munificence of the Ptolemies, the Golden Age of Augustus, and the liberality of Maecaenas passed into a literary commonplace. The Court of Rome continued to be a centre of patronage until its removal to Constantinople. Its function was prolonged in a feeble way by the Papal Court until the revival of learning and the rise in power of the Italian cities, created anew centres of learning and patronage.

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1 Harvey: Marginalia, p. 142. "Romani vero [sunt persecuti] politicam atque polemicam Disciplinam; quae una omnium est Artium nobilissima et augustissima; omnenoque Viro dignissima."

2 Spenser writes:

"And well beseemes all knights of noble name
That couet in th'immortall booke of fame,
To be eternized, that same to haunt,
And do their seruice to that soueraigne Dame,
That glorie does to them for guerdon graunt:
For she is heuenly borne, and heuen may iustly vaunt."
F.Q., I, x, 59.

"Thou that dost liue in later times must wage
Thy workes for wealth, and life for gold engage."
F.Q., II, vii, 18.

Cf. F.Q., II, vii, 8. Harvey: Marginalia: p.142: "The prynces Court, ye only mart of praeferment & honour. A Goulfe of gaine. No fisshing to ye Sea, nor seruice to A King. Solum operae precium.

3 We should not omit in a traditional summary of literary statesmen and favorites the names of Cicero and Vergil, nor, at the Court of Charlemagne, Pietro de Pisa, Fardolfo Paulus Diaconus, and Alcuin of York.

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With the Medici, the d'Estensi, the d'Este, and Frederick of Arragon, arose again a Golden Age for literature. Earlier scholars had been h honored as ornaments of court,[1] and as teachers and advisers of rulers, but the Renaissance was universal in its recognition of learning and literature. Boiardo, Ariosto, and the Tassos, father and son, had lived in the atmosphere of courts.[2] In England, Chaucer carried on the tradition. Almost within Spenser's own day, Erasmus, Polydore, Vergil, Vives, and later Bruno had been welcomed as guests of the nation. Sir Thomas More, Sir John Cheke, and Sir Thomas Wilson had held high office by virtue of their learning. Ascham had enjoyed royal favor.

Not only tradition and example held up patronage and statesmanship before the aspiring writer, but contemporary literature fostered the ambition.[3] Puttenham devotes pages to citations of such awards.[4]

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1 Brunetti Latini, Alberti, Leonardo Bruni, Vittorino da Feltre, Aeneas Silvius.

2 Here also should be listed Angelo Poliziano, Sannazaro, Machiavelli, Bembo, Giovanni Rucellai, Jacopo Nardi, Castiglione, Bibbiena, Trissino, Muzio, Giovanni della Casa, Varchi, Bernardo Segni, Annibal Caro, and others.

3 Spenser's view of the matter is illustrated by his lament for the neglect which has befallen "the brood of blessed Sapience":

"The sectaries of my celestiall skill
That wont to be the world's chiefe ornament,
And learned impes that wont to shoote up still,
And grow to hight of kingdome's government,
They underkeep."---- The Teares of the Muses.

Tasso, T.: I Dialoghi: La Cavaletta, V.3, p.104. Among the Greeks, the poets and writers were "maestri de costumi" and of "uomine civili". Among the Latins Vergil "was called to the council of Augustus". Dante, "-- fu non solamente poeta, ma cittadino illustre." Petrarca, Bembo, Casa, Capello lived in courts. Muzio: Il Gentilhuomo, p.216: Alexander honored Aristotle. Darius had a golden casket for Homer's works. Octavius Augusus spared Alexandria for its learning. Dionisius of Silicia ordered a boat, adorned as for a god, to meet Plato. Archelaus had Euripides as his favorite counsellor. Artaxerxes invited Hippocrates to his court. The king of Egypt rewarded Menander. Athens honored letters.

4 The Arte of Engl. Poesie, Bk. I, C. viii.

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Harvey urges practical steps in such a career.[1] Della Casa,[2] Muzio,[3] Elyot, Castiglione, and others point out literature as the source of practical wisdom in statecraft, and politics as the natural field of men so trained.[4] Torquato Tasso in Il Segretario,[5] gives the fullest expression to the common theory. The literary man should be cherished, not only in the schools of philosophy and the academies of literature, but in the temples of religion, in the courts, and in the houses of princes he should be much honored.[6] His place is rightly not in schools, "ma nelle Corti e nel campo, e co principi e co'general, o sia condotte in Vaticano, come fu il Bembo, e gli sia aperta la strada a gli altissimi onori." In order to attain to this dignity, he must be accomplished in all learning, and in the "scienze che son dette circulari."[7] He must have knowledge of civil philosophy, experience in matters of

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1 Marginalia, p.190: "Warriors ar to deuote themselves to sum ualiant especial nobleman, or singular Captayn of most famous Valu: professors of more ciuil lerning ar to follow and serue those lerned, and wyse Honorable personages unto whome ye State hath committed such auctorityes and functions: and principally sum on of principal liability and power, that can iudg, may pleasure, and wyll accept, craue & haue." Ibid., pp.107,108,151,152,192,202.

2 Il Galateo.

3 Il Gentilhuomo: p.201. Men of letters shall be "noble by presumption" as are the sons of nobles; p.208. The professions of arms and letters are the most noble and excellent, and through them the state is defended, governed and preserved; pp.216-7. Letters make those who follow them honorably rich, noble and honored: "Che donde si fanno i consiglieri de Principi? donde i gran Cancelieri che appresso i Re, & appresso gli Imperatori tengono i primi luoghi, & a quali i Capitani-generali si inchinano? Et a quanti gradi di Prelature & di Cardinalati ci inalzano le lettere? Alla suprema auttorita de'Papati anchora si fanno la strada gli huomini con la dottrina."

4 Tasso: I Dialoghi: p.103. The training in arts fits for diplomacy, for "la dissimulazione de l'arte, e sommo artificio."

5 This whole essay discusses the employment of men of letters in the service of the state.

6 Ibid., V.II,p.263.

7 Ibid., p.258 sq.

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state, which are in continual change, whence he has need of prudence and foresight."[1] He must have at hand abundance and variety of expression and power of persuasion, for his chief function is negotiation.[2] He must write sometimes of moral matters which pertain to the office which he holds in the service of his patron, or else for the satisfaction of his friends, and he must show himself most learned and most eloquent.[3] But he must "engage in all these pursuits not as a merchant seeking gain, but under the guise of those who cultivate these things as an ornament";[4] and he must not be simply an official, but "a gentleman to whose wisdom can be entrusted the State and the life and honor of the prince."[5] For "La Corte----, e congregazion d'uomini raccolti per vnore";[6] and it is there "that occasion and opportunity reign which open the road to every honor and to every favor."[7]

In Tasso we find summed up the theory of the age in regard to the career of writers. The evidence adduced is sufficient to justify Spenser's attitude as not only legitimate but laudable. The ambition to use his ability in the service of his country, to gain fame and honor, and to establish himself in a sphere favorable to his own development and the widening of his influence, carries with it no stain of sordid self-seeking.[8] That such an aim did exist in the poet's mind is amply proved by the adulation of the queen which permeates the subject matter of the poem, by the tributes to powerful nobles, both in the

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1 Ibid., p.266.

2 Ibid., V.III, Malpiglio: p.19.

3 Ibid., V.II,p.266.

4 Cf.Sp.Letter to H.,p.6. Ibid., p.258, (V.II).

5 Ibid. p.276.

6 Ibid.,V.III,p.9.

7 Ibid.,V.II,p.276. Cf. Harvey: Marginalia: "Sir Thos.Smith, Sir John Cheke, Lewin and Clark had exchanged the shades of the college for the sunshine of court."

8 See also Letter of Oct.,1579, Advice to Harvey.

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group of dedicatory sonnets and as characters in the epic action, and by passages in the poem.[1] That the aim did not debase his morality is proved by his fearless defense of friends suffering the eclipse of royal favor.

Spenser was a philosopher, a poet, and a practical man of the Renaissance. As the philosopher, he brought to the Court the treasures of his mind. As a practical man, he asked the means that he might live well and honorably. As the poet, he held within his power, by common consent of the world, within his hand, the greatest gift that life could yield, fame, and as the guerdon of fame and honor received, he bestowed in return immortality.[2]

It was stated at the beginning of this discussion that the complete amalgamation of Spenser's choice of subject and his aims precluded the separation of the themes save by a profitless and wearying analysis, and that the two would be developed together. Incidentally, therefore, it has been shown that the aim of moral instruction involved a system of allegory. The popular interpretation of the great epics, and the concurrence of critical opinion, predetermined the nature of Spenser's supreme effort; and he simply proclaims the Faerie Queene "a continued allegory, or darke conceit" which will deliver "good discipline-----

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[1] See also Letter of Oct., 1579, Advice to Harvey.

[2] F.Q., Ded. to Elis.; Ded. Sonnets: To Essex, l.3, ll.11,12. To Oxford, l.12; To Northumberland, l.3, l.13; To Howard, ll.12,13,14; To Hunsdon, l.13-14; To Buckhurst, ll.3-4; To Norris, l.14.

Cf. also: The Ruines of Time:

For deeds doe die, how ever noblie donne,

But wise wordes taught in numbers for to runne,
Recorded by the Muses, liue for ay.
ll.339---401-2.
But Fame with golden wings aloft doth flie,
Above the reach of ruinous decay,

Then who so will with vertuous deeds assay
To mount to heaven, on Pegasus must ride,
And with sweete poets verse be glorifide." ll.

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clowdily enwrapped in allegorical devises," as is "the use of these dayes."[1] The nationalism expressed in the choice of Arthur as hero, and in the personification of Elizabeth as Gloriana has been noted, as well as the political aspiration which underlay much of the courtly compliment and impersonation. One phase of the subject, however, demands independent consideration; this is the selection of romance as the medium of expression. Here Spenser did not make an inevitable choice. In laying aside classic tradition, and in choosing the freer and more modern form, he found ample support both in practice and in theory, but the critical decision between classic and romantic form was still in abeyance; hence in his choice and in his complete assimilation of romance, Spenser displays a strong personal bias. The critical justification of this choice merits investigation.

W.L., in his dedicatory verses, attributes the inspiration of the Faerie Queene to Sidney. His words imply the celebration of Elizabeth. He states that Spenser knew the renown of the queen, but was

> "Loth, that his Muse should take so great a charge,
>
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>
> But Sidney heard him sing, and knew his voice."
>
> St.2, ll.3,6.
>
> "So Spenser was by Sidney's speaches wonne
>
> To blaze her fame, not fearing future harmes."
>
> St.3, ll.3,4.
>
> "What though his taske exceed a humaine witt;
>
> He is excused, sith Sidney thought it fitt."
>
> St.5, ll.5-6.

Since Spenser's latge comprehensiveness of mind has amalgamated several themes in his poem, it is an open question how far Sidney's

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[1] Letter to Raleigh.

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influence extended in the initial conception.

In the choice of romance, evidence for his influence is on slight and debatable ground. His comment on Amadis de Gaule has more of praise than of censure: "Truly, I have known men, that even with reading Amadis de Gaule, which, God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect poesy, have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesy, liberality, and especially courage." His suggestion as to the ballad of Robin Hood is more pertinent to method. He confesses his "barbarousness" in being moved by the old ballad, which being "evil apparelled in the dust and cobwebs of that uncivil age, what would it work trimmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar?" The genuine taste for the old material, combined with the suggestion of a more literary form, is in striking analogy to Spenser's method.

But not upon Sidney's advice rests the final responsibility of choice. Romance was popular. The fact is attested in a hundred ways. For centuries it had constituted the popular literature of France, Italy, Spain and England, and had grown into the life of the people. By degrees it had come to assume a more literary, or at least a more artificial form.

The Orlando Furioso, Spenser's nearest model, did not stand alone[1] in the field of epic romance. The work of Pulci combines to a striking degree features reproduced through many intervening steps and reappearing

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[1] Between 1466 and 1483 Luigi Pulci wrote and published, in various stages of completeness, his romantic and semi-satiric poem Il Morgante. (Man. della Lett. Ital., D'Ancona-Bacci; V. ii, pp. 124-5.) later called Morgante Maggiore. Rajna tells us the first twenty-three cantos preserve a poem left incomplete by its author. Rajna calls this poem L'Orlando. This early poem preserves some features of a yet earlier poem called Rotta di Roncisvalle, in which the characters are Charlemagne, Orlando, Rinaldo, and other well known figures. (Propugnatore, II, 7; III, 38; IV, 52.)

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in the Faerie Queene.[1] The key-note of the work is freedom. Pulci has drawn his rich vocabulary equally from learned and popular sources. Unity is dependent upon the reappearance of character. Especially notable is the tone of humor adopted toward the achievement of his heroes. This is the perfectly natural outcome of a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the author, and the tone was followed by his Italian successors. Spenser, however, by moderating the feats of his knights, eliminates satiric necessity, and preserves the gravity in harmony with his more serious purpose. Pulci chose a popular subject, in which he combined antique heroic matter with romance, and brought both under the alchemy of culture. In matter, he mingled the high, noble and serious with the low, vulgar and jocose; in style, the polished with the crude.[2]

Boiardo built his Orlando Innamorato on the foundations of Pulci, but with a greater imagination and wider vision. He drew the two epic cycles of Arthur and Charlemagne together. He has a deeper feeling for the "days of old", and more nearly creates an atmosphere than either Pulci or Ariosto. Love, adventure and courtesy motivate incident. Magic and fate are substituted for mystic or angelic power, but the prefaces and introductory formulas are moral, almost religious. Pulci's humor is softened and made more subtle as regards the feats of the heroes. He also introduces satire of women. He honors the house of d'Este in

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[1] Two other epics should be cited here, not because they belong to the series, but to the period and the general development. The first is that of Matteo Palmieri, La Citta di Vita (1451-1468), an allegory modelled on the Divina Commedia, with reminiscences of St. Augustine. The theme is the doctrine of free-will. The second is Polisiano's Stanze (1476) of which it has been said he created the epical form, but forgot the epic. It is based upon contemporary events. It mingles classic stories and the gods with characters of the Medicean Court. Episode succeeds episode in chain unity.

[2] D'Ancona-Bacci: V.II, pp.124-5.

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placing its origin in the marriage of Ruggiero and Brandiamente.[1]

Such is the immediate ancestry of the Orlando Furioso,[2] the immediate progenitor of the Faerie Queene. All of the special features noted above are continued in Ariosto's work.

The poet speaks in person in moral reflection, invocations, introductory and closing passages of a canto. He gives hints of what is to come, and directs change of action. Adulation is offered to the house of d'Este both in address and in the body of the poem, especially through the marriage of Ruggiero and Bradamante. The poet preserves a humorous tone toward the prodigious feats of his heroes. This humor deepens into satire on women and on the life of the clergy. There is a modicum of moral teaching in the work, which gave ground for its ethic defense by critics, but which by no means constituted a definite purpose, or even colored the brilliant romance. Ariosto does not seek classic unity for a romance poem. The enveloping action of the war, a chain continuity of events, and the reappearance of characters give the desired unity. The life of the poem is in its episode and variety. Thus freed from the hampering restraint of classic form and didactic purpose, Ariosto moves at will in the world of literature. Love and glory are the dominating motive factors. His sources are the Innamorato, Mambriano, Breton romances, classic and contemporary writers. He borrows fact, incident and motif. He freely employs the literary genre which best conveys his material; court pastoral, lyric, satire and dialogue combine with epic passages. All these he blends with inimitable freedom and smoothness into a brilliant epic of romance, the end of which is artistic creation and delight.

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[1] To this series belong: Il rifacimento dell'Orlando innamorato (1531-1542) of Francesco Berni, [illegible] an effort toward the refinement of Boiardo, in which are inserted references to contemporary persons; the Mambriano of Il Cieco, a series of chivalric episodes of slight sequence, but epic in character, and of influence on Ariosto.

[2] Ariosto states in a letter to Marchese de Mantova his intention to

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- It is this power of blending and recreating that the poetic genius of Spenser recognized and strove to emulate. He responded to an inner quality which probably escaped Harvey when he wrote his caustic criticism, which says so little and yet so much.

The true difference of the two poems lies in the temper and environment of the writers. Spenser was dreamy, imaginative, introspective, with a curious power of slow visualization, which by degrees saw, with the inner eye, all details. Ariosto was full of life and action, enjoying a good story, and untroubled by ulterior motivation. Spenser was a scholar, reared in prosperous, peaceful England, but transplanted to a land of warring factions, without the dignity of war. Ragged rebellion carried no romance or glory. Ariosto lived in a land and time throbbing with war against the invader. Battle and action were in the air; hence his poem breathes ~~of~~ virility, the poem of Spenser breathes ~~of~~ imagination.

Direct advice on the choice of subject is common. Muzio says:

"Quinci prender dourai suggetto antico,
Onde fanoleggiar senza contrasto,
Possa tua penna, & trar di cieto in terra
Gioue & Minerua, & dire i lor consigli
Che 'l poema e diuin, ne senza i Dei
Poetar si conniene:"

Dell'Arte Poetica, p. 82.

The French poets are outspoken in favor of romance as the subject of the epic. Sebillet says doubtfully the French have no epic to correspond to the Iliad, and would have to turn to the Romaunt de la Rose,[1] for a model. Du Bellay proclaims proudly that Ariosto has

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[1] Art. Poet., C. 14. p. 166 sq.

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borrowed the names and the stories of his poems from the French, and that he himself "would choose one of those beautiful old French romances, Launcelot, Tristan, or some other, and of it cause to be reborn into the world a noble Iliad, and a well-wrought Aeneid."[1] De Laudun advises as a subject, "annales antiques."[2]

Ronsard urges that the good poet found his work "sur quelques vielles annales du temps passé ou renommée enveterée, lequelle a gagné credit au cerveau des hommes; comme Virgile ------- comme nous faisons des contes de Lancelot, de Tristan, de Gauvin, et d'Artus, fonda là dessus son Iliade."[3]

Vauquelin advises the choice of an old subject that the "muse, unrestrained by truth of the present can feign of old events,"[4] and he more than once refers to the use of the romances as epic subjects.[5] In this concensus of opinion among the French critics there lies a distinct element of nationalism.

In English criticism, Sidney's views of romance have been already cited. Ascham's harsh condemnation of the genre voices the intolerance of the learned scholar and confirmed classicist for popular material, yet the very strength of his condemnation attests the popularity of the genre in less learned circles.[6]

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1 Deff. et Illus. (1549), p.120 "Choysi moy quelque vn de ces beaux vieulx Romans Francoys, comme vn Lancelot, vn Tristan, ou autres: et en fay renaitre au monde vne admirable Iliade, et laborieuse Eneide."

2 L'Art Poetique, Ch.IX, p.145.

3 Preface of the Franciade.

4 L'Art Poetique, Bk.II, l.1113 sq.

5 Ibid., l.948 sq. Romance born in France, borrowed by Italy, and returned to France. ll.983-86, l.1005. Amadis de Gaule.

6 Schoolmaster, p.83.

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Independently of the English attitude toward romance, it has been shown that Spenser found abundant critical justification for his choice in French precept and Italian example. And the young poet, who was addressednby Harvey[1] as "my yunge Italianate Seignior and French Monfieur", was immeasurably nearer in spirit to the criticism of Italy and France than to that of his native land. But had all other influences been swept aside, the unparalleled popularity and fame of the Orlando Furioso would have fully warranted Spenser's choice of romance as a subject.

With this ~~statement~~ the discussion of Spenser's aims and choice of subject may be closed.

It has been demonstrated that he was guided throughout by current criticism. From the preceding discussion it must be clear that in his conception of his work as an ethic philosophy he followed masters old and new; that in his recognition of the true moral function of poesy he was in accord with the dominant thought of the age; that in his acceptance of the theory of delight he again followed a classic principle which was flowering anew in the Renaissance; that in his nationalism he but reflected the vigorous development of a racial pride; that even in his hope of patronage and ultimate statesmanship he rested upon classic precedent and Renaissance theory.

Evidence has been adduced to show the universality of the principles cited above. Generated under classic culture, they were reborn in the revival of the Renaissance, and with the vigor of a new growth spread from nation to nation. The Renaissance reverence for learning transmuted these principles into literary law; but all law must be modified to existing conditions. Hence new phases of the law reached out to include the native growth of literature, and Spenser in his

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[1] Letter-book: First letter to Spenser.

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choice of romance as a medium, attained a functional height of criticism in which the hand of culture laid held upon an untrained growth, and subdued it to the laws of art.

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Chapter III.

Spenser's Ethic and Politic Philosophy: Ethic intention of work.- Moral philosophy based on ethics of Aristotle.- General conception of the philosophic nature of poetry.- Scheme for presentation of the virtues.- The virtues a popular theme in the Renaissance.- Contemporary treatment of virtue.- Spenser's treatment of specific virtues.- Magnificence.- Holiness.- Chastity.- The border-line of ethics and politics.- The political views of Aristotle and Plato.- Influence on Spenser.- Spenser's theories of government. The critical reflection of the philosophy of his age in Spenser's writings.

In his statement both to Raleigh and to Bryskett, Spenser expressed a doubt as to the efficacy in method of his moral teaching. There are some, he wrote, "I know----- which had rather have good discipline delivered plainly in way of precepts or sermoned at large,----, then thus clowdily enwrapped in allegoricall devises;" and to Bryskett, "your [---] wiſh will be in ſome ſort accompliſhed, though perhaps not ſo effectually as you could deſire."[1]

The subtlety of assimilation between his ethic intention and romantic medium might well prove disappointing and even baffling to men of slow and literal minds, and to men whose minds had been fed upon the dialogues of Erasmus, Ascham, Bullen, La Primaudaye, Pontanus, Piccolomini, Bembo, Guazzo, Trissino, Cinthio, Tasso, and a hundred others. Yet no phase of Spenser's almost incomprehensible assimilative power is so complete as this, his conception of an ethic philosophy. He has gathered up and embodied in his work the suggestions and ideals of scores of contemporary writers. His poem reflects, as it were in a magic mirror, a composite and perfect image of incomplete and fragmentary thought, thought which had its inception in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, but which in no subsequent writer had been carried to complete expression.

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[1] Discourse: p. 27.

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In his extension of the moral function of poetry to embrace a complete philosophy of life, he puts into effect the almost universal theory of the philosophic character of poetry. His first step in so comprehensive a scheme was to amalgamate the popular motif of the creation of a perfect gentleman,[1] with a broader consideration of the Platonic and Aristotelian conception of ethic virtue. Through this process he attains the viewpoint of the universal, and in Plato's and Aristotle's identification of certain ethic with politic virtues, he projects his plan to include a philosophy of state as well as of life. With this general scheme in mind, it may be permitted to gather up and review the fragmentary evidence which indicates the current of public interest, and lies at the base of Spenser's conception.

The statement in defense of poetry that the early poets were the philosophers, lawgivers and priests of the human race, and that the early philosophers clothed their instruction in the garb of poetry, had become in Spenser's time mere literary commonplace.[2]

Aristotle gave a basis for subsequent critical development when he said, "Poetry is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history; for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular."[3]

Strabo enters upon the controversy as regards the philosophic nature of poetry, and states in refutation of Eratosthenes' opposite view, "the ancients define poetry as a primitive philosophy, guiding our life from infancy and pleasantly regulating our morals, our tastes and our actions."[4]

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[1] V. Infra.

[2] Minturno: De Poeta, p.17, p.39; Sidney: Def of P., p.2; Puttenham: Arte of English Poesie, C. IV.; Fracastoro: Naugerius, p. 336

[3] Poetics: IX, 3.

[4] Geography: (Tr. by Hamilton) Bk.I, p.24; Cf. Spingarn: Lit. Crit. in the Renaissance, Ch.II,-Poetry as a Scholastic Philosophy.

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Trissino quotes Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the effect that the character of the dramatis personae of poetry has two phases, the one particular, which is controlled by the principle of decorum, the other common. "And the common and philosophic is that which invites men to virtue and withdraws them from vice, a thing which should be the intention of all good poets." Trissino further develops the statement that all the books of the good ancient authors are found filled with the philosophical type. The work of Homer, according to Horace, is especially rich in such examples, and it is permissible to omit the names given by Homer, yet "to take the characters and philosophize with them concerning the actions of human life." The temperance of Nestor, the tolerance of Ulysses, the prudence of Antenor, and the religion of Hector all conduce to virtue, and in the books of other good ancient authors, one may, through the characters, examine the whole of human life as in a great theatre. Plato confirms this idea in saying that poetry gives to posterity through the consideration of its characters instruction for life.[1]

Minturno states, not as his own view, but as that of some, that "since in the books of the poets is comprehended all which can be drawn from the treasuries of Philosophy, he who desires to follow the divine practice of poetry has surely no need to exert himself in studies of other arts."[2] Later he says firmly: "The poet, in the guise of a Philosopher, reduces matter to class and to universal nature." He cites as illustrations of this principle the characters of the Odyssey, the Aeneid, of Petrarch and of Dante, especially noting the magnanimity and piety of Aeneas.[3]

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[1] De la Poetica: Div.6, p.123

[2] L'Arte Poetica, Bk.I, p.20.

[3] Ibid, p.39.

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Ludovico Bryskett adds his own testimony and that of Cinthio; "--- true poesie well vſed is nothing elſe but the most ancient kind of Philosophie, compounded and interlaced with the ſweetnesse of numbers and meaſured verſes. A thing (as ſaith Muſaeus) moſt ſweet and pleaſing to the mind, teaching vs vertue by a ſingular maner of inſtruction, and couering morall ſences vnder fabulous fictions."[1]

Daniello,[2] Scaliger,[3] Castelvetro, Guarini,[4] Salviati,[5] Tasso,[6] and others imply or posit the relation between philosophy and poetry.

In Sidney's work, although he draws a distinction between the poet and the philosopher, is to be found what might be termed a scattered epitome of Spenser's conception of the philosophy of poetry. First he makes the conventional statements to be found in almost all Arts of Poetry. The early philosophers appeared under the mask of poets. Thales, Empedocles, and Parmevides sang their natural philosophy in verse, Pythagoras and Phocylides their moral counsels, Solon his policy; and even the work of Plato, although the inside and strength was philosophy, "the skin as it were and beauty depended upon poetry." Both philosophy and history borrow of poetry. Xenophon's Cyropaedia, in which he sets forth a just empire, "is an absolute heroical poem."[7] In seeking a valuation of poetry, he posits "three general kinds": first, hymns to deity; second, that which deals "with matter philosophical", moral, natural, astronomical, or historical,--"which who mislike, the fault is in

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[1] Discourse, p.151. Cf. F.Q., Prologues Bks.II and V.

[2] Della Poetica, p.23.

[3] Poetics, Lib.I, C.3.

[4] Opere, V.III,p.79,140.

[5] Orazione: In Lode della Pittora, p.95.

[6] Le Prose Scelte, V.II, pp.189-190.

[7] Def. of Poesy,pp.3,11.

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their judgment quite out of taste, and not in the sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge"--; the third is the true poetry, which ranges, "only reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be, and should be." Although Sidney definitely distinguishes between the second and third classes, saying that the philosophical, as the meaner sort of painter, counterfeits only the face, while true poetry, as the more excellent artist, sets forth the inward grace best for the eye to see, in his very distinction of the concreteness of the one and the spiritual universality of the other, he places the latter in the class of speculative philosophy.[1] He furthermore declares poetry superior to history and philosophy, but makes this very superiority lie in the fact that poetry embraces in nobler form the supreme qualities of both. Sidney begins his argument with general statements: "This purifying of wit, this enriching of memory, enabling of judgment and enlarging of conceit, which we commonly call learning, under what name soever it come forth, or to what immediate end soever it be directed, the final end is to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls ------- can be capable of." Therefore, all sciences are "directed to the highest end of the mistress--knowledge, by the Greeks called ἀρχιτεκτονική, which stands,-----, in the knowledge of a man's self, in the ethic and politic consideration, with the end of well-doing, and not of well-knowing only: ----- So that the ending end of all earthly learning being virtuous action, those skills that most serve to bring forth that have a most just title to be princes over all the rest; wherein if we can show, the poet is worthy to have it before any other competitors." The argument proceeds on the conventional grounds that while philosophy teaches by precept only, and history by example only, poetry combines the two

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[1] Def. of Poesy, pp. 9, 10.

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in more excellent form, and yields a speaking image which inspires to virtue and moves to action. Hence Sidney concludes that since it is poetry "who doth not only teach and move to a truth, but teacheth and moveth to the most high and excellent truth; who maketh magnanimity and justice shine through all misty fearfulness and foggy desires;--- the laurel crown appointed for triumphant captains doth worthily, of all other learnings, honor the poet's triumph."[1] in the book dedicated to him

One more critic must be cited. Bruno, the friend of Sidney, writes: "Those who sing of loves, boast and can boast of the myrtle ----. They can boast of the bay who worthily sing heroic deeds, creating heroic souls through speculative or moral philosophy, or truly praising them and placing them as a mirror of example for political and civil action."[2]

The foregoing evidence completely establishes the literary atmosphere in which Spenser conceived his poem in terms of philosophy, and justifies such a conception. His scheme, however, found its direct source or inspiration in the Nicomachean Ethics, in which Aristotle develops his whole system of moral philosophy through a consideration of the specific ethic virtues, their means, variants, and opposites, and in conclusion carries his moral speculations to the borderland of politics in the person of the statesman, and in the executive function of statesmanship.

This is Spenser's precise scheme, and this it is to which he refers when he says in the letter to Raleigh, "I labour to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised, the which is the purpose of these twelve first bookes: which, if I finde to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encoraged to frame the other part of

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[1] Def. of Poesy, pp.12-32.

[2] Gli Eroici Furori, Vol. II, p.314.

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pollitioke vertues in his person, after that hee came to be King." Moreover, if the nature of this thesis demanded or permitted such an investigation, it could be shown that Spenser in the development of his poem, has in a measure followed Aristotle's scheme in the presentation of extremes, variants and opposites of the virtues, but as the poet himself conceived them.

The purpose of this thesis is, however, the examination of critical influences. It has been shown that an atmospheric recognition of the philosophic nature of poetry lay back of Spenser's incipient idea, and that his precise model for his "Ethicke part of Morall Philosophie"[1] was the Ethics of Aristotle. These two phases of his work, however, by no means bounded Spenser's scheme. The virtues were to be embodied in speaking images, suggested, as the poet tells us, by the noble figures of other epics, and to be manifested in right and noble action. In the central figure, Magnificence, in which all the other virtues are concentrated, Spenser is, except in name, in strict accord with an Aristotelian ideal. As regards the other figures, the ideals of the Renaissance obtrude themselves upon his consciousness, and his medium of Romance advanced its claims of decorum. His application of theory, or interpretation of the virtues, is not therefore limited to a strictly Aristotelian exposition, but takes on the color of multiform contemporary presentations, in which Platonic and Aristotelian conceptions are blended with Christian ideals. The Renaissance rarely forgot that Plato was the master and Aristotle the pupil, hence the virtues are cited under the names of both philosophers, and commonly without reference to a fixed catalogue.[2]

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[1] The phrasing of Bryskett's Discourse. U. p. 27.

[2] M. Jusserand (Mod. Phil., V. III, p. 373 sq.) ably advances the view of intermediary indebtedness on the part of Spenser, for Aristotelian material. While there is ground for debate in regard to M. Jusserand's view as to the degree of Spenser's direct indebtedness to Aristotle, as regards the moderative and suggestive influence of contemporary and ear-

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Besides the more fixed and external characteristics of the virtues as exemplified in the character and action of the patron knights, Spenser has sought to include in his work the development of certain phases of Platonic, Neo-Platonic, and Christian doctrine. These features also exercise a modifying influence upon what has been characterized as a composite rather than specific conception of the virtues.

Before taking up the discussion of the specific virtues and their ultimate relation to a political ideal or to statesmanship, it is necessary to review, as in the case of the philosophic conception of poetry, the literature which forms the background of the ethic phase of the Faerie Queene. The purpose is here again to show, not sources, but the widespread diffusion of similar ideas.

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lier literature, I most heartily concur. The implied indebtedness of Spenser to Bryskett's completed work for the specific catalogue of twelve virtues (Discourse, p.214) is feasible but doubtful. The conception of the virtues lies at the very heart of the intricate plan, and a work which was placed in Harvey's hands for criticism early in 1580, and "whereof some parcels had bin by some of them seene" (Ib., p.28) who were among Bryskett's guests, must have been well past its initial stage. I rather agree wih Prof. Erskine [P.M.L.A., V.23, (1915)] in believing that Spenser had direct acquaintance with Piccolomini's Della Institutione morale di tutta la vita dell uomo nato nobile e in citta libera. This work, Bryskett tells us, he used in his translation in conjunction with Cinthio, because of its fuller exposition of the virtues. The phrasing, however, of Piccolomini, as quoted by M. Jusserand (the work is inaccessible to me) and of Bryskett, is of importance as indicating a conventional numeration of the virtues. Piccolomini writes: "l'undici virtù morali che pone Aristotele;" Bk.IV, C.2 (fol.74). In a later edition (1560), M. Jusserande tells us, Piccolomini adds Prudence as a possible virtue. Bryskett (p.214) cites the Platonic virtues, Fortitude, Temperance, Justice and Prudence; "from which foure," he adds, "are also deriued (as branches frõ their trees) sundry others to make vp the number of twelue,"---. Here both men, disregarding the elusive and interchangeable nature of the virtues as treated by Aristotle, seek to reduce them to a specific catalogue. Spenser does the same. The evidence, therefore, points to a popular conception of twelve virtues. This is, however, an arbitrary development.

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The moral philosophy of the Renaissance had its roots in the deep interest of the early humanists in the works of Plato and Aristotle. Subsequently, this interest assumed a popular form, and became a literary motif, supplying matter for endless dialogues, letters, civil and politic discourses, and courtesy books.[1] Aristotle, Plato and Plutarch were still read, but their theories were also presented to the public in forms twice and thrice removed from the original; hence, in endless repetition, the original forms became obscured or less distinct even in the minds of those acquainted with the primary sources. The ethic virtues as discussed by Plato and Aristotle, in the newly awakened individualism of the Renaissance, exercised a powerful influence on the popular mind. They were a means to an end, for if the well-rounded, perfect man was the ideal of the Renaissance, he was also the rightful leader of other men, and an instrument of government.

Plato has said: "--- neither we nor our guardians whom we have to educate, can ever become musical,[2] until we and they know the essential forms of temperance, courage, liberality, magnificence, and their kindred, as well as the contrary, forms in all their combinations, and can recognize them and their kindred, as well as images wherever they are found, -------- believing them all to be within the sphere of one art and study ------ and when a beautiful soul harmonizes with a beautiful form, and the two are cast in one mould, that will be the fairest of sights to him who has an eye to see it."[3]

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[1] There was a distinct revival of Platonism in the second half of the sixteenth century.

[2] Rep., Bk. II, p. 376: Music includes literature; Bk. III, p. 401: Musical training is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten. This training will make the soul reject the ignoble.

[3] Rep., Bk. III, pp. 401-2.

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The dialogues of Plato reecho the same theme, varying slightly the grouping of virtues, and placing the aim sometimes in the abstract happiness of the contemplative soul, and again in political leadership.

The Ethics of Aristotle is a codification, amplification and criticism of the views of Plato. His apperception of the virtues is flexible, and marked by philosophic breadth. He perceives that no hard line of demarcation exists between mental or spiritual qualities, that one may be contained within another , or all in one; that there are various modifications, of which some are but half virtues, and that the extremes of any may merge into vice. Any attempt to reduce to a catalogue the virtues as conceived by Aristotle must involve the variation of selection. For the codifier must choose whether the half-virtues and near-virtues are to be counted as virtues, whether the virtues included in others are to be considered separately, and whether the intellectual virtues are to be included with their moral sisters.

Segni[1] has made the most systematic attempt known to me to classify and interpret the Aristotelian presentation. His treatment approaches no numerical basis, nor does it simplify the system, but it does give an interpretation which is nearly affiliated with Renaissance ideals. In Book VII may be found a discussion of Incontinenza and Piaceri, which practically includes the whole popular conception of ethic and politicke virtue as presented in Tasso and in Spenser.

The spiritual, temporal and political conjunction of the virtues which appears in Spenser, is foreshadowed two centuries earlier by Dante who writes: Providence proposes for man two ends: the happiness of this life, which consists in the exercise of true virtue, and is figured under an earthly paradise; and the happiness of eternal life, which consists

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[1] L'Ethica d'Aristotile Tradotto in Lingua Vulgare Fiorentino, Firenze, 1550.

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in the fruition of divine contemplation, to which even constant virtue is not able to ascend unless aided by divine light. This state is figured as a celestial Paradise. The first is attained by philosophic, the second by spiritual teachings, which transcend human reason, and are followed through the guidance of the theological virtues, faith, hope, knowledge and charity.[1] Elsewhere he states that monarchy is the most universal cause among mortals that men should live well, for thus they may become leaders, since Monarchy diligently seeks a good man.[2]

Daniello reviews and endorses the theories of Dante--divine contemplation can only be reached through the exercise of the virtues and through purgation from vices.[3]

Scaliger expounds the virtues with not quite the care accorded in his work to figures, but at least with weighty consideration. Manners or habits are states known to animals. Volitions are qualities which proceed from manners, and antecede action.[4] However, the poet trains the volitions or desires through action that we may embrace the good and imitate it in action, and that we may spurn evil by abstaining from it. Action is therefore a mode of teaching, and we are taught usage through an example or instrument in story, as leading to action, and thereof action will proceed. In the state, therefore, action will be the end, and manners or habits will be its form.[5] Scaliger expands these ideas, and cites Aristotle as authority. He also further identifies poetry with political interests. His discussion of the virtues and powers of the mind ranges over a large field. Temperance, Liberality, Fortitude and Justice stand out from the rest. As extremes of

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[1] De Monarchia (Ed. Moore), Bk. III, C. 16, p. 375.

[2] Ibid., Bk. I., C. 10, p. 347.

[3] Della Poetica, pp. 27-28.

[4] Poetices: Lib. III, C. 20.

[5] Ibid., Lib. VII, C. III. Cf. Lib. VII, C. 2.

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these, he names extravagance, prodigality, rashness, and rigidity. The powers of the mind are two, Intellect and Will. Under the first he places Sapience ("whose end is Happiness".), Reason and Knowledge. Under the Will he places Prudence and Art.[1] The perfect man must have qualities both of contemplation and action, and a distinction is made between public and private virtues. Justice, bravery and piety are three of the chief virtues. Piety is defined as right conduct to the gods, to parents, friends and country, and as leading to bravery.[2] Aeneas is described as not only doing what belongs to piety, but teaching and declaring it as well, and he is cited as the true example of the perfect man of Socrates.[3]

Other virtues and their opposites and humours are treated at great length.

The value of Scaliger's discussion to this thesis is not that of a source, but a complement. For the existence in the work of one of the most authoritative and widely known critics of the time, of an elaborate treatment of the virtues, directly referred to Plato and Aristotle, and maintaining the same relations of the spiritual, moral and political, yet evincing perfect freedom in modification, expansion and combination, is just the evidence required to make clear the views and processes of Spenser.

Minturno tells us that as the artist through the exterior reveals the interior, and through the features places before the eyes the character of the soul, so Vergil, in the pious and magnanimous Aeneas, undertakes to create an example of justice and fortitude. He chiefly emphasizes the qualities of magnanimity and piety.[4]

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[1] Ibid., Lib.III, C.1.

[2] Ibid., Lib.XX.

[3] Ibid., Lib.III, C.XII.

[4] De Poeta, Lib.I,p.25. Cf.p.39.

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Several interesting suggestions in Trissino impress the realization of a common literary consciousness as well as stock. Conceding the moral function of poetry, he cites the inspiring examples not only of Achilles, Ajax, Nestor and Ulysses, of Aeneas and Turnus, but of "i Romanci di Tristano, e di Lancilotto, e di Rinaldo, e simili."[1] In his series of dialogues, The Portraits, the assembled friends discuss the divine beauty of woman. They plan to create the portrait of a brave woman, who with courage above that of other women fears neither death nor danger, but who would choose, rather than the greatest honors, that the purity of her life should be in no way tarnished. She desires not the delights of the body, but only honorable pleasure, and with her gentle modesty and bashfulness she becomes a marvellous portrait of temperance.[2]

This portrait certainly bears an analogical relation to Spenser's conception of Britomart. ¶ The group further propose portraits of the Platonic virtues: Prudenzia, Mansuetudine, Fortezza, Temperanzia, and Continenzia, Giustizia, Liberalità, Magnanimità. That of Justice takes three forms, in one of which we see a true and singular religion. "This holds a firm and inviolable faith, accompanied by most sacred reverence for a promise, and truth of speech. Closely allied to this piety is a tenderness toward native land, father and mother.[3] Salviati in setting forth his ideal of a gentleman includes learning and bodily exercise. The perfect man must also exceed dukes in nobility, princes in power, noble damsels in modesty, the most temperate men in continence, and equal the gods in beauty and virgins in chastity; nor should he lack piety, sweetness, prudence, liberality and magnificence. But chief of all virtues

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[1] Cf. Sidney: Def. of P., p.24.

[2] Opere: (Verona, 1729), V. II, I Ritratti, p.269-276.

3 Ibid. p. 276

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is that of justice, which is concerned with states. For where justice rules, the wisest and most prudent men are called to government, and the sciences, learning, arts, judgment, morals and valor find protection and reward. And allied with this justice which embraces all the virtues is religion.[1]

In his defence of the pastoral, Guarini claims even for the humble shepherd a share in degree of the virtues of justice, magnanimity, magnificence, courage, urbanity, and affability; and of friendship he says: "it is that divine chain with which the human life and companionship is preserved, and whence is born the happy state of the Republic."[2]

Guevara[3] and Russelli[4] with an earnest moral spirit discuss the virtues and their relation to the happiness and government of man.

Tasso's discussion Della Virtu Eroico e della Carità is interesting through its fearless challenge of the views of Plato and Aristotle (whom he holds equally as the originators of ethic philosophy), and in his attempted conjunction of pagan and Christian virtues. He finds Aristotle's exposition[5] of heroic virtue weak and insufficient, but he himself defines it as close to magnanimity. Charity he defines as love--"directly to God, and indirectly to his creatures." Like heroic virtue, it has no immediate object, but as glory of the world is the reward of heroic virtue, so the glory of Paradise is the reward of Charity.[6]

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[1] Orazione: (Firenze,1575) pp.6,8,14,89,104.

[2] Opere, V.III, pp.241, 21.

[3] Golden Epistles: Tr.by Fenton,1502.

[4] Epistres des Princes: Tr.by Belle-forest.

[5] Segni: (L'Ethica d'Aristotile,p.330) defines it as a virtue which lifts man to God.

[6] Le Prose Scelte: V.II,pp.189-193,197.

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The evidence cited in the last few pages has been indeterminate in character; the end in view, however, has many phases, and the foregoing has been but the gathering up of threads. It has been shown: that the consideration of the virtues constituted a universal theme in the Renaissance, and was discussed by critics as a literary motif; that the writers referred freely to the discussions of both Plato and Aristotle; that there were three phases of the subject, one leading to spiritual reunion with divinity, one to the moral and temporal happiness of right action, one to the honor and responsibility of political administration; that the names, number and character of the virtues were subject to modification by individual authors; that piety, which is not named by Aristotle, receive common emphasis as a virtue; that there was a strong tendency to amalgamate Platonic, Aristotelian and Christian virtues.

The above conclusions are entirely pertinent to Spenser's treatment of the virtues. Before the application can be made, however, there are a few more specific relations to be reviewed. Spenser's declared intention to fashion a gentleman in noble and perfect discipline is one with the motif of the courtesy books. A summary of these is given elsewhere, but probably two of the most familiar to Spenser were Elyot's Gouernour[1] and Castiglione's Courtier.[2] In the former, the education of the future Gouerncur is to include the study of the poets for their lessons of virtue, Aristotle's Ethicae, Cicero's De Officiis and above all, the works of Plato.[3] In the first book Elyot incident-

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[1] It is an interesting fact that Croft, the incomparable editor of the Gouernour, notes the similarity of phrasing between Elyot's account of the ruin of Rome and Spenser's translation of Du Bellay's verses, and attributes a most possible influence to Elyot. Bk. II, pl. XXIII.

[2] Gouernour: Bk. I, pp. 71, 92, 93, 104, 122.

[3] "--what incomparable swetnesse of wordes and mater

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ally discusses modesty;[1] the second is largely given over to detailed discussion of the virtues in general. Of these, justice and friendship are emphasized; the first should be tempered with benevolence, but has an inherent quality of rigor; the second is the elemental type of friendship illustrated by the story of Titus and Gysippus. Magnanimity is identified with valiant courage, and thus approaches Tasso's identification with heroic virtue. In detail, Elyot's treatment of the virtues does not conform to that of Aristotle either in terminology or interpretation. It is, nevertheless, made absolutely clear by the general conformity and by direct reference, that he regards Aristotle as his master and chief source. He includes, however, as authority, both Plato and Cicero. Another point worthy of note is the intermittent attempt toward a reconciliation of the pagan and Christian virtues. Pagan philosophy is notably the dominant thought, but patent efforts are made to attribute the same teaching to the Scriptures, and a Christian color is imparted to some virtues. Elyot's work is serious and philosophic, directed toward a political end; Castiglione's work is courtly, dilettante, and far more social than political in aim. He touches upon the virtues but lightly and incidentally. Modesty,[2] friendship,[3] shame,[4] (?) temperance,[5] continence,[6] manliness,[7] justice,[8] and liberality,[9] constitute the list. Of

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[1] Gouernour, Bk.I,pp.267-9.

[2] Tudor Translations: V.23.

[3] Ibid,pp.138-9.

[4] Ibid,Bk.III, p.251.

[5] Ibid,Bk.IV,p.308.

[6] Ibid,p.306.

[7] Ibid,p.310.

[8] Ibid,p.322-3.

[8] Ibid,p.330.

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warkes of Plato and Cicero; wherin is joyned grauitie with delectation, excellent wysedome with diuine eloquence, absolute vertue with pleasure incredible,and euery place is so enfarced with profitable counsaile, joyned with honestie that those thre bokes be almoste sufficient to make a perfecte and excellent gouernour."

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these, justice alone merits special consideration, for Castiglione says that justice depends upon a true zeale toward God, and is accompanied by true religion. Such religion embraces love of country and toward people, and should be a quality of every prince. Here again appears the junction, already noted, between justice and religion. The Courtier is of more interest as embodying in popular form the views of Ficino, Pico de la Mirandola, and Bembo, for it is through such a medium that Castiglione expounds the phase of Neo-Platonism which treats of mystic love and beauty.

In addition to the courtesy-books, there were more formal treatises of philosophy which dealt with the same popular theme. Prominent among these was the Academie Francoise of La Primaudaye, published in 1577, and well known in England long before its translation by T.B., in 1614.[1]

The work is of interest, if indeed the word may be applied to such ponderous didacticism, through its definite intent of creating a reconciliation between pagan and Christian philosophy. The Scriptures, old and new, are cited in confirmation of the views of Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, and Quintillian. And La Primaudaye says: "A Philofopher and a Chriftian differ but in name: and a prince well inftructed in piety is truly both the one and the other. Therefore he ought to learne nothing fooner (next to the law of God) than the morall Philosophie of the ancients, which teacheth all virtue." The prince should strive "that none excell him in the goods of the foule, in wifedome, magnanimity, temperance and juftice."[2] In such a treatment, the virtues neces-

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[1] The French Academie, wherein is difcourfed the inftitution of Manners and whatfoever elfe concerneth the good and happie life of all eftates and callings, by precepts of doctrine, and examples of the lives of ancient Sages and famous men, by Peter de la Primaudaye: Trans. by T.B. London, 1614.

[2] Ibid., p.605.

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sarily undergo some modification both in name and character. Thus superfluitie, sumptuousness, gluttony and wallowing in delight culminating in voluptuousness and lechery[1] take the place of that delightfully flexible quality of Pleasure which is the object of Aristotle's speculations. Shame, shamefaftnes and difhonour are made mere checks on concupiscence---"shamefaftnes (faith one of the ancients) is fifter to continencie, and companion of chaftitie;" but later shame is restored to the more honorable function attributed to it by Aristotle.[2] "Magnanimitie" and "generositie" are made one, and closely associated with fortitude, indeed the two first seem to be identified with magnificence, which was a common interpretation in the Renaissance; "although the vertue of Fortitude be never perfected without Magnanimitie (which is as much to fay Generofitie or noblenes of heart) as that which undoubtedly is comprehended under the firft part of Fortitude, which Cicero calleth Magnificence or doing of great and excellent things,---" The further discussion of Magnanimitie is an excellent exposition of the Aristotelian idea, and is equally close to Spenser's conception of Magnificence. La Primanday concludes "that true and perfect Magnanimity and Generofity is invincible and inexpugnable,---further ------ this vertue maketh him that poffeffeth her, good, gentle and curteous, even towards his greateft enemies, againft whom it fuffreth him not to ufe any covin or malice, but keepeth him alwaies within the limits of equity and juftice."[3]

The chief point to be deduced from the above citations is the absolute freedom with which source material is handled, even when from a declared original and in an avowedly serious philosophic work.

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[1] Ibid., pp.196-208, 219-230. [2] Ibid., pp.240-8.

[3] Ibid., p.271, p.279.

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Another instance of such freedom is to be found in Cinthio's dialogues Dell'allevare et ammaestrare i figluoli nella vita civile, as translated by Bryskett.[1] In this Discourse Plato is cited equally with Aristotle,[2] there is a determined reconciliation of paganism and Christianity, and the moral virtues are freely treated. The first point to be taught was "Religion and the feare of God"; the second truth and verity,[3] the third temperance and justice.[4] To these are added mildness, affability, and liberality. The lessons are summed up in Religion, Prudence, Wisdom, and the accompanying virtues Truth, Justice and Temperance, and to these is added the princely virtue of Fortitude, "whereby ſuch men became equall to the Gods as Poets fained."[5] Later Bryskett has recourse to Piccolomini and tabulates the civil virtues as "Fortitude, Temperance, Iustice and Prudence; from which foure are alſo deriued (as branches from their trees) ſundry others to make vp the number of twelue, and they are theſe enſuing, Liberalitie, Magnificence, Magnanimitie, Desire of honor, Veritie, Affability and Vrbanitie:"[6] The omission of friendship, modesty, shamefastnes, and chastity from this list of primary virtues, as well as of Religion, included earlier, is indicative of the flexibility with which they were regarded. Patience is named as a phase of Fortitude, "of which," says the writer, "Plato hath written largely. ------ But the Chriſtian writers haue much more extolled this vertue then any other, yet Ariſtotle toucheth it,--"[7] Temperance is exalted, and as her companions are assigned shamefastnes,[8]

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1 A Discourse of civill Life containing the Ethike part of morall Philosophie (London,1606).

2 Ibid.,pp.47,61,62,68,74,76 (Plato the diuine Philoſopher and Ariſtotle his diſciple after him,--") 78,121,(--"there are on either side great and learned authors,as Plato and Aristotle first, whereof the one was accounted the God of Philosophers,and the other the master of all learned men:and ech hath his followers,--.") 122,140,178,196,216, 222,223,227.

3 Ibid.,p.63. 4 Ibid.,p.85. 5 Ibid.,p.85. 6 Ibid.,p.214. 7 Ibid. p.216

8 [illegible]

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honestie, abstinence, continency, mansuetude or mildness and modesty. It is made clear at this point through citations of Cicero, Plotinus, Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle, that the ideal of the Greeks is centred in control against excess in all things rather than in the Christian conception of Chastity.[1] Liberality, Magnificence and Magnanimity are conjoined: "Vnto liberality is joyned magnificence" and "Arme in arme with Magnificence goeth Magnanimity, waited vpon by Mansuetude, Desire of honor, veritie, affability, & vrbanity."[2] Magnanimity is that elevation of soul and mind which embraces all virtues,[3] and sees all things with a largeness of vision which passes over petty honors and looks only to the highest as its due aim and reward.

With the dialogues of Cinthio which were most probably familiar to Spenser both in the original and in translation, we may close the summary of the contemporary treatment of the moral virtues. Wearying though the review has been, it has but touched the surface of a vast amount of similar material. An effort has been made to indicate the pervasiveness of the theme by drawing upon representative classes of literature. Instances therefore have been taken from formal criticism, from courtly dialogue, from the popular courtesy-books, and from more formal philosophic discourse.

The result is proof of the universal popularity of the theme, and the flexibility of its treatment, which presents the reaction of the individual writer in combination, interpretation and emphasis. It has been shown that while in general, through his more extended treatment.

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1 pp.219-223. 2 p.223. 3 p.250.

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sense of a "true companion of vertue" that (according to Socrates) breedeth feare to do or say anything vnseemely or dishonest:" It is a "certaine token of a generous mind--, that through bashfulness refrains from frowardness. This may become the vice inanition, "vnfruitfull ſhamefaſtneſſe" in English, "Difopia" in Greek.

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of the subject, Aristotle is regarded as the primary source of ethic philosophy, unhesitating reference is nevertheless made on occasion to Plato as coequal or antecedent in authority. Moreover, in the endowment of the pagan virtues with Christian color, and the adaptations of Greek morality to the ideals and changed social relations of the Renaissance, is to be found an expression of the universal principle of imitation which, hampered by no reverence for the integrity of source material, sought to leave matter in better form than that in which it was found.

With this background we may proceed to a consideration of Spenser's individual treatment of the virtues.

In Arthur, as his letter to Raleigh tells us, he impersonates Magnificence, "which vertue, for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all,--." Much is revealed in this brief statement. First, it is stated in Spenser's own words that he has other authorities than Aristotle. The assertion opens wide the gates of speculation, but it needed not to be made in words, for when Spenser says that Magnificence is a virtue which is the perfection of all the rest and contains all in itself, he repeats not the direct teaching of Aristotle, but a later theory which tends to identify Magnificence with Magnanimity, not as a subordinate quality, but as an equivalent identity. Tasso writes: "magnificenza o magnanimità." Cinthio says, arm in arm with magnificence goes magnanimity, attended upon by clemency, desire of honor, truth, affability and urbanity, thus identifying the two. Aristotle regards Magnificence as a composite virtue only in so far as it includes Liberality,[1] and becomes in turn

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[1] The Moral Philosophy of Aristotle: (Jowett's Trans.) Liberality (ἐλευθεριότης) Bk. IV, Chaps. 1-3. Munificence or Magnificence (μεγαλοπρέπεια) Bk. IV, Chaps. 4-6. The difference of the two virtues lies in object and degree: "The munificent man is a charitable man,

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incorporated in Magnanimity, as the lesser in the greater. But of the magnanimous man he says: "whatever is grand in each single virtue is found in him"; and "elevation of soul [μεγαλοψυχια - Magnanimity, Highmindedness] is as it were a kind of lustre or beauty, arising from the possession of every form of moral excellence; while it gives to the virtues a richer development, apart from the virtues it is itself unattainable."[1] Now this union of virtues, vested by Aristotle in Magnanimity, is precisely what Spenser proposes for Magnificence.[2] Moreover, his development of the character of Arthur is in accord with the Aristotelian ideal of Magnanimity.

The perfect man comports himself with an air of greatness toward men of his own position, but with gentleness and urbanity toward inferiors. It is his nature to do a service rather than receive one. His primary concern is with honor, but only with honor commensurate with his own virtue and dignity; he does not intermingle with ordinary occasions of honor, or where others have the ascendency. He harbors no memory of injury. He is silent concerning his own affairs and those of others. He bears ills and disappointments in silent dignity. He is sedate, unhastened in his movements, and in all things is aloof in manner and interest, having his eyes fixed ever upon ends beyond the compass of ordinary mortals.[3]

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1 Ethics: Book IV, C.7. (Jowett); Cf. Welldon, pp.113-114; Peters: pp114-115.

2 Plato: Rep., Bk.VI, p.182: The discussion of the qualities of the philosopher attributes to magnificence of mind all with which Aristotle endows magnanimity. See also F.Q., II, ix, 36-39.

3 Ibid., Bk.IV, C.8; Cf. F.Q., [illegible]

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but the charitable man is not, for all his liberality,----munificent." (p.201). Cf. Welldon (Trans., p.107): "although the magnificent person is liberal, it does not follow that the liberal person is magnificent." Cf. Peters (Trans. p.108); Segni, B.: L'Ethica d'Aristotile (1550), p.193. "La Virtù---hà per oggetta gli honori grandi, alla quale (secondo il Filosofo) s'appartiene il sommo di tutte l'altre Virtù---."

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Such is the character with which Spenser had endowed Arthur as Magnificence. The cause of the choice of title is not far to seek. The freedom in adaptation of the virtues has been shown, as well as the special tendency to amalgamate the two virtues, magnificence and magnanimity. Either of these reasons according to the standard and practice of the age would have justified the modification, and Spenser's use, just at this point, of the parenthetical phrase "according to Aristotle and the rest", seems to betray a consciousness of departure from his primary source. The true motive of the adaptation probably lies, however, in the presentation of Leicester under the form of Arthur. The rank, wealth, and lavish expenditure of this powerful noble placed him in public fame just below the queen herself; while her favor to him gave earnest of ever greater elevation. The sumptuousness of his establishments and retinue, the splendor of his public entertainments, the liberality of his patronage, all conjoined to make Magnificence a most fitting and suggestive name. Hence Spenser by a slight modification, one as we have seen elsewhere accepted, secured uniformity of character and ideal.

This liberty of departure from source has been dwelt upon in preparation for what is yet to come, and it is worthy of note that in this process of merging one virtue within the other, Spenser has caught something of the facile infiltration which characterizes Aristotle's own conception of the virtues.

Spenser has told us that in each book he has set forth the virtue of the titular patron, in the action of Arthur. The hero of the first book is the Knight of Holinesse. This virtue is nowhere included in the grouping of Aristotle. Yet we have seen that Religion was often posited as the first requisite of a prince or ruler, and that piety and magnanimity were universally celebrated as the virtues of Aeneas.

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Religion and piety are akin to holiness, and while the idea is a Christian one, there is probably some point of contact or of departure in the pagan philosophy.

This point is to be found in Plato, and the virtue is that named by Spenser Holiness. In the dialogue Laches, or Courage, Socrates asks: "-- if a man knew all good and evil,---- would he not be perfect, and wanting in no virtue, whether justice, or temperance, or holiness?"[1] The discussion turns here on the composite nature of courage; there is no development of the nature of holiness, but its inclusion within a group of specific virtues, in serious argument, is not to be disregarded. In Protagoras, the theme of the unity of the virtues is resumed, and Socrates says: "You were speaking of Zeus sending justice and reverence to men: and several times while you were speaking, justice, and temperance, and holiness, and all these qualities, were described by you as if together they made up virtue. Now, I want you to tell me truly whether virtue is one whole, of which justice, and temperance, and holiness are parts; or whether all these are only names of one and the same thing."[2] Protagoras admits the qualities are distinct, with individual functions, yet constituting part of a whole virtue, as mouth, nose, eyes, and ears are part of the whole face. Courage and wisdom

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[1] Dialogues of Plato: Jowett, V.I, p.109. Cf. Platonis Opera: (Oxford Ed.) Tom. III, p.199b: Soc. Δοκεῖ οὖν σοι, ὦ δαιμόνιε, ἀπολείπειν ἄν τι ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀρετῆς, εἴπερ εἰδείη τά τε ἀγαθὰ πάντα καὶ παντάπασιν ὡς γίγνεται καὶ γεγήσεται καὶ γεγονε, καὶ τὰ κακὰ ὡσαύτως. καὶ τοῦτον οἴει ἂν σὺ ἐνδεᾶ εἶναι σωφροσύνης ἢ δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ὁσιότητος, ᾧ γε μόνῳ προσήκει καὶ περὶ θεοὺς καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐξευλαβεῖσθαί τε τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ μή, καὶ τἀγαθὰ πορίζεσθαι, ἐπιστάμενῳ ὀρθῶς προσομιλεῖν;"

[2] Jowett, V.I, p.150-151.

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are added to the list, and discussion proceeds, turning directly upon the nature of holiness.[1] It is agreed that justice and holiness are very like, but are not the same qualities.[2] The discussion wanders, and is checked by Socrates with the same question: "Are wisdom and temperance and courage and justice and holiness five names for the same thing?-- or has each of the names a separate underlying essence and corresponding thing having a peculiar function, no one of them being like any other of them?"[3] Again it is agreed they are distinct qualities, and Protagoras says: "You may observe that many men are utterly unrighteous, unholy, intemperate, ignorant, who are nevertheless remarkable for their courage."[4] The idea is repeated: "You will find --- that some of the most impious, and unrighteous, and intemperate, and ignorant of men are among the most courageous."[5]

The repetition of terms and the discussion of the theme make it clear that the reference was not an incidental matter; but that holiness was classed by Plato as a distinct and noble virtue.[6]

The point at issue is now, therefore, reduced to the greater psychological probability of Spenser's use of intermediary sources for the development of his idea, or his direct reference to the Platonic original.

As to the first, it has been amply demonstrated in the evidence already adduced, that the piety of Aeneas was noted by early critics as one of his chief virtues; and that piety and religion had come to be regarded in the Renaissance not only as among the virtues of a hero or

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1 Vol. I, Jowett, p.151-187. Cf. Oxford Text, p.329a.

2 Jowett, V.I., p.153. Cf. Oxford Text, p.329; "ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ ὁσιότης —." ~~Jowett: p.153.~~ (Cf. Oxford Text: p.329d, p.330c, et alt.)

3 Vol. I Jowett: pp.172-173. 4 Ibid., p.173. 5 Ibid., p.184. 6 The Greek word ὁσιότης is used throughout the original. Its significance is; a disposition to serve the gods; religiousness, piety, holiness. Used as title "his Holiness" in Ecclesiastes.

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prince, but as those to be taught above all others. It is further worthy of remark that both of the dialogues quoted above are primarily concerned with the instruction of the young in virtue.[1] Hence it is perfectly feasible that the original idea could, in successive stages, have permeated later literature, and that Spenser could have developed his conception of holiness through secondary sources.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that Plato was regarded as an authority coequal with Aristotle, and that Spenser's work exhibits an intimacy with both Platonic and Aristotelian thought, an absorption, as it were, of influence, which points to first-hand acquaintance.[2] Dryskett refers to his familiarity with Greek as being proof of a wider knowledge of philosophy than his own.[3] Harvey, when called upon to "play Il Segnor Filoſofes parte uppon the Commencement stage", in a humorous letter begs the aid of his more philosophic friend in setting forth "ye morall and philoſophicall wiſdom of Socrates, ye divine notions and conceites of Plato, ye ſuttle and intricate acumen of Aristotle, ye brave eloquence of Tully, ye gallant pronunciation of Hortenſius,---."[4]

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[1] Ibid., pp.146-147. "Education and admonition commence in the first years of childhood ---. Mother and nurse and father and tutor are vying with one another about the improvement of the child ---- he cannot say or do anything without their setting forth to him that this is just and that is unjust; this is honorable, that is dishonorable; this is holy, that is unholy; do this and abstain from that."

[2] To develop this theory conclusively is beyond the scope of the present discussion. It can only be treated incidentally in relation to other matters.

[3] Vs Discourse.

[4] Letter-Book: Harvey writes further: "Good Eloquence and gentle Philosophy, and ye loove me pittye my caſe and helpe me this once.-----Ye have holpen ſum I knowe owte of the ſame place to fayer riches ----------afforde me on tolerable oration, and twoe or three reaſonable arguments, and lett me aloane agoddes name to ſhifte for the other myſelfe." He also begs that Spenser may aid him to "attayne that ſame excellent vertue and moſt divine praedominante qualitye" of which he then speaks. The only virtue "in the whole criſſecroſſe rowe of ether morall or intellectual vertues that nowe adayes carrieth meate in the mowthe." (Grosart's Ed. of Harvey's Works, V. I, p.127-8.)

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In a later letter in which the tone is again ironic, he derides Spenser -"a gentleman, courtier, an yuth"--for reviving the stale and bookish opinion that "moſt of theſe bodily and ſenſual pleaſures ar to be abandonid as unlawfull and the inwardo contemplative delightes of the minde more zeloufly to be imbraeid as most commendable", and tells him "your greatiſt and moſt erroneous ſuppose is that Reason ſhould be miſtreſſe and appetite attend on her ladiſhips perſon as a pore ſervante and handmayden of hers."[1] Despite the tone, the letter is filled with philosophic phrasing, and undoubtedly points to Spenser's interest in such matters.

Such evidence as the above is of course merely contributory to a general impression of Spenser's familiarity with Plato. The character of the knight in question has more direct bearing, for in addition to other functions, he is made the exponent of one of the most subtle and intangible theories of the age, that of Platonic love and beauty. It is with the greatest skill, delicacy and tenacity that, in an almost impossible situation, Spenser executes this design. Despite a romantic milieu, with its insistent demands upon story, the knight's relations with Una as a devoted cavalier, are characterized by no word or act that speaks of earthly love. He is inspired by her beauty and purity. Indeed, this very reverence, rather than a fault[2] of his own, is made the instrument of his fall. But he is rescued and restored by her, and guided by her wisdom, he passes through all the intervening degrees, and reaches the

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[1] Ibid.,pp.147-148.

[2] Ethics: Bk.I,ii,p.52: The virtuous man will not become unhappy through his own fault - "he will never commit deeds disgraceful or hateful.-- So too, after great trials, such a man will not regain his happiness in a short time, but, if ever, in the course only of a long career presenting an unbroken harmony to his activities, in which he has gained great honor and dignities." This characterization is aptly fitted to Spenser's treatment of the R. C. K.

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heights of Heavenly Contemplation and perfect reunion with divinity.

In this reunion he attains the acme of the Greek conception of Holiness, which must be gained through contemplation rather than action.[1] It is this fusion of ideas to a perfect focus which renders more probable the poet's use of the original Greek source.

It is, however, unfair to reach such a conclusion without examining other phases of this complex character; yet the comprehensive symbolism of Spenser's characters is such that a brief review is necessarily incomplete or obscure.

Primarily it must be borne in mind that Spenser insistently sought a reconciliation of Christian and pagan ideas, and that holiness is a b biblical virtue. In endowing this knight with the insignia of the Red Cross, Spenser affiliates him with the pseudo-religious character of the crusader.[2] As the champion of Truth, and in her person of the Reformed Church, and as the deliverer of the symbolic rulers of Eden (Paradise),[3] from the dragon of Sin, the Red Cross Knight presents a perfect type of Christian hero, yet one which in no way departs from the Greek ideal of holiness, which embraces a disposition to serve the gods, and reverence toward gods, parents and country. Yet another phase of this character is Courage,[3] in which the knight is identified with St. George, the champion and patron saint of England. Although the idea is tantalizingly recurrent, it would be but the purest speculation to attribute the inclusion of this virtue to an association of ideas in the source, where the discussion of holiness was first introduced in connection with courage, and in the dialogue bearing that name.[4]

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[1] Cf. Bruno: Gli Eroici Furori, Part II, pp. 349, 359, 404.

[2] In the Perlesvaus, the symbol is borne by some of the searchers for the Holy Grail.

[3] F. Q., Bk. I, C. xii, 26.

[4] Laches or Courage.

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The functional variety of this character is a part of a broad scheme. Spenser proposed in each book to exemplify in Arthur the special function of the hero of that book. The book under discussion is the first, where it is necessary to secure an orientation or motivation of the super-hero. Leicester was represented in Arthur. At the time the Faerie Queene was begun, public opinion saw in Leicester a future sovereign.[1] Spenser therefore sets forth in the person of the Red Cross Knight two primary essentials in the ideal British sovereign, religion or protection for the Protestant English Church, and courage. As to the literal significance of the first, Leicester conformed to the ideal as a political Puritan; allegorically he assumed the protection of Una or the Church, when the lesser hero failed, and in courage he excelled in destroying the force which had overthrown Holinesse. Moreover, the Red Cross Knight's exemplification of Platonic love was probably but a union presentation of the theory as compared with Leicester's love for Elizabeth. It is in this book that we learn of Arthur's vision, which so fills his soul that he is withdrawn from all other interests, and centres his life in his search.

"From that day forth I lov'd that face divyne;
From that day forth I cast in carefull mynd,
To seeke her out with labor and long tyne,
And never vow to rest, till her I fynd:"

F.Q., I, ix, 15.

And the Red Cross Knight with new inspiration says to Una:

"'Thine, O then ----------
Next to that ladies love, shalbe the place,
O fayrest virgin, full of heavenly light,
Whose wondrous faith, exceeding earthly race,
Was firmest fixed in my extremest case.'"

F.Q., I, xii, 17

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It is probably due to the saving quality of this Platonic theory that Spenser was enabled, after the failure of Leicester's hopes, and even after his death, to go on with his great work, secure in the fact that a logical and noble outcome, and one pleasing to the Queen, was attainable through its medium.

Such is the presentation of the virtue of holiness. An effort has been made to set forth fairly complications and possibilities. In the absence of positive proof, a decision must be based upon the greater psychological probability.

In default of reasonable doubt as to Spenser's first-hand knowledge of Plato, in connection with a theme bound up with other Platonic theory,[1] in a work definitely designed as an exposition of ethic philosophy, and in the initial step of that work, it is but reasonable to suppose that Spenser drew from authoritative source, the source of his own chief source, where he found the virtue he has depicted under its own name,[2] and in its true character, rather than that he drew from a secondary source, which would involve a change of name and a readjustment of conception to meet the culmination of the theory of Platonic love.

Therefore it is strongly urged that Spenser drew the virtue of holiness from the dialogues of Plato, where it was included in a list of virtues, most of which were subsequently embodied by Aristotle in his ethic philosophy.

Of the five other virtues treated by Spenser, four are included in those named by Aristotle: Temperance, Justice, Friendship, and Courtesy. There is matter for discussion as to the exact preservation of Aris-

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[1] The term Platonism is used rather then Neo-Platonism (a term unknown in Spenser's day) because Spenser's design lacks the elaborate machinery of Mirandola, and in its directness seems nearer to Plato.

[2] M. Jusserand (Mod. Phil. V8, p.391) notes the name holiness in La Primandaye. I have not found the term in the English translation of W. B., which is the only form of the work accessible to me.

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totelian conceptions in Spenser's treatment of these virtues, but such a discussion would involve details beyond the scope of the present work. It suffices to state that although Spenser's treatment shows the influence of later ideals, there exists in Aristotle a sound basis for his general development.[1] And if the companion figure of Justice, Talus, is originally drawn from Plato, the mentor of Temperance is clearly suggested by Aristotle as a distinct entity, Reason, to which Temperance should be in tutelage.[2]

The virtue of Chastity presents another departure from the Aristotelian code. There is nothing in either Plato or Aristotle to warrant this conception save an extension of the phase of temperance known as continence. The virtue as exalted by Spenser is purely a Christian and romantic ideal. As asceticism and an excess it is incompatible with the Greek ideal, indeed, it is indirectly condemned by both Plato[3] and Aristotle.[4] Chastity, however, as conceived by Spenser, is eminently fitted to the story and to its environment. It introduces a popular theme of romance, and at the same time enables the poet to motivate the introduction into his scheme of virtues of the warrior woman, who under the skilled development of Ariosto and Tasso had become an essential figure in epic romance. If critics cavil at the presentation of a virtue which involves so sharp a deviation from the original scheme as outlined in the letter to Raleigh, they must also reckon with the departure, from another feature of that scheme, which permits a stranger maiden from Greater Britayne, rather than a knight from the court of Faery Lond, to be the patron of this virtue.

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[1] Talus [Talos] first appears in literature in the Platonic dialogue Minos. Later scholarship has rejected this work as spurious. He is also mentioned in Apollodorus. Cf. Miss Sawtelle: Sources of Sp.'s Class. Mythology, p.112.

[2] Ethics: B.III, C.15, p.176.

[3] Timaeus, C.XLIII, p.341 [Ed. Archer-Hind]

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With this brief view of Chastity, the discussion of Spenser's treatment of the virtues must be closed.

In an intricate problem of this kind, which involves the consideration of many propositions, the conclusion must likewise exhibit distinct phases.

First, it has been demonstrated by citations from varied classes of literature that Spenser's general conception of the virtues was a part of a common literary stock. His conception of the philosophic nature of poetry was a widespread theory. His choice of the virtues as a subject coincided with what was probably the most popular literary theme of his day. His vision of a man perfected in all the virtues, who was to exercise the function of government, was the ideal of the Renaissance. His reconciliation of pagan and Christian theory was again a universal feature of philosophic treatise. It has been shown, moreover, that the literature dealing with this common stock was absolutely unrestrained in thought and method; that it cited and used authorities with impartiality; that it grouped, combined and emphasized the virtues at will; that it adapted the virtues in name and nature to existing social conditions and ideals; that, as evidenced by the work of La Primanday and Bryskett,[1] there was a tendency to reduce the virtues to the specific number twelve. Hence the conclusion is clear that in conception and in general method of execution, Spenser's treatment of the virtues reflects the literature of his age.

It has also been demonstrated[2] that Spenser's letter to Raleigh, although a valuable key to his intention and method, can by no means be accepted as an exact statement of the conditions existing in the completed work. Hence the discrepancy, in name, number and character between

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[1] See M. Jusserand, Mod. Phil. III, pp. 373 - 383

[2] Infra. Note, C.II, p.3; C.IV.

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the Aristotelian and Spenserian virtues need present no problem to the critical mind beyond the general one of the true time relation of the letter to the publication of the work.

- Aside from these general conditions, however, it has been seen that Spenser possessed a deep and genuine knowledge of Greek philosophy. He therefore turned without hesitancy to original sources. He sought to create in emulation of Aristotle, but under a romantic veil, a system of ethic philosophy founded upon the latter's Ethics. But he preserved ever in his consciousness the teachings of Aristotle's master, and the developments of later writers. Therefore, as occasion presented, he drew upon one or the other. From Plato he took Holiness, more lofty in name and nature than the later conceptions of religion and piety. Uniting with this conception another theory of Platonism, he carried his thought to the very height of elevation, and with infinite skill wove together the threads of his design.[1] Again, he drew Chastity from the ideals of a later social environment, and in her person advanced the movement of his great scheme. In his creation of Magnificence he freely adapts Aristotelian conception to the needs of his design, but under the authority of both Plato and later writers. While the virtues, Magnificence, Holiness and Chastity as depicted by Spenser do not exist in the Aristotelian code, the remaining four out of the total seven are drawn directly from the poet's alleged source. In view,

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[1] F.Q., Bk. II, i, 31-32. The Palmer, when he meets the R. C. K., acknowledges the height of his attainment:

"---- God give you happy chaunce,
And that deare Crosse uppon your shield devized,
Where with above all Knights ye goodly seeme aguisd.

Joy may you have and everlasting fame,
Of late most hard atchiev'ment by you donne,
For which enrolled in your glorious name,
In heavenly regesters above the sunne
Where you a saint with saints your seat have wonne."

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therefore, of this situation, and in view also of the fact that the critical canon of the age not only bound the writer to no integrity in the reproduction of his original, but urged change, we may include that in his primary intention and major execution the claim of Spenser to an exposition of the Aristotelian virtues was justified.

It was stated at the beginning of this discussion that in no other phase of his work had the poet displayed greater nobility in the assimilation and mergence of ideas. In the summary of conclusions, therefore, it may be reiterated: Spenser wrote from a mind steeped in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle; he drew directly and without stint from both, but his interpretation of theory reflects as from a thousand facets the color of the imagination, ideals and literature of the Renaissance.[1]

The influence of Platonic and Aristotelian thought extends beyond the limit of ethic values. As Plato in his Republic and in other dialogues, particularly the Statesman, and Aristotle in the last chapter of his Ethics, carried forward their moral speculations into the realm of politics, so Spenser planned that his ethic philosophy should develop into a theory of government.

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[1] Since the first sections of this thesis were written, there has appeared in Mod. Phil., 1918 (May and September issues) an article in refutation of M. Jusserand's theory in regard to the sources of Spenser's conception of the twelve moral virtues. As has been stated elsewhere, the purpose of this thesis is not controversial; the difference, however, between the view as expressed in this thesis and that of the writer in question is too radical to be passed without comment. Although I heartily concur with him as to method, in the freedom of adaptation and interpretation which he has attributed to Spenser, I dissent from him on several basic matters:

1) The origin and character of the Red Cross Knight, or Holiness: a) The primary character of this figure is Holiness; the secondary, that of chivalric knight, is demanded by romance setting. Hence, in assimilating "love of honor" the dominant characteristic, the intention of the poet is illustrated. b) The Greek term μεγαλοψυχία (magnanimity, elevation of soul, high-mindedness) is absolutely distinct in significance from ὁσιότης, (holiness). c) μεγαλοψυχία is distinctly posited by Aristotle as the height of virtue, embracing within itself all the other virtues. Hence, to assign paramount virtue to a secondary character, to be reflected in the protagonist or super-hero, or to be his by implication only, is illogical. d) Magnificence, as a necessary exterior

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Although it is something of a paradox to seek this theory of government in a work avowedly dedicated to the development of the private mor-

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condition of Magnanimity became a synonymous name. e) Spenser distinctly designates Arthur as μεγαλοψυχια when he projects his character as "perfected in the twelve private morall vertues." f) Arthur is brought face to face with the excess of his virtue (F.Q., II, ix, 36-39). She is Prays-desire, and corresponds literally to the Aristotelian excess of high-mindedness or magnanimity. (Ethics: Bk. II, C. 7, p. 98)

2) The presentation of Modesty or Shame as the virtue Chastity: a) Aristotle states: "It is improper to speak of the sense of shame as though it were one of the virtues." (Ethics, IV, 15) Hence, the inclusion of Shame as a virtue is a deliberate violation of the Aristotelian scheme. b) In the treatment of Shame (Ethics: IV, 15, pp. 238-9) there is no specific association of the emotion with sensual indulgence. Nor in the discussion of Temperance (Bk. III, C. 13-15, pp. 167-177) is there any mention of Shame. c) The association (as is demonstrated in the body of this thesis, c.f. p. 18) was developed by later writers. But there is no logical or psychological process known to me through which the name of an emotion, preventing the violation of a virtue or attendant upon such a violation, can be transmuted into the virtue itself. d) Chastity as conceived by Spenser was not a Greek ideal. (See J. A. Symonds: A Problem in Greek Ethics.) e) Chastity was a Christian and Romance ideal. The passage in the F.Q. (II, ii, 40-44) has been overlooked. In the House of Alma, Guyon, Temperance, is brought face to face with Shamefastnes, the excess of his virtue. In the characterization there is no hint of sensuality or incontinence, but the true Aristotelian conception of reserve, or lack of self-confidence, carried to an extreme which paralyzes all self-assertion and action.

3) That Spenser drew only and directly from Aristotle: a) Spenser writes in parenthesis "according to Aristotle AND THE REST." (Capitals mine). b) In referring to the philosophy which he wishes to emulate, Spenser uses [illegible]

4) The inviolability of Spenser's "solemn assertion": a) There are other and incontrovertible discrepancies between the plan as outlined in the letter to Raleigh and the execution of the work. b) If inviolability is insisted upon in this particular instance, it is quite possible to interpret the clause, "as Aristotle hath devised", as referring to the whole phrase, "the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues."

5) The selection involved in cataloguing the virtues of Aristotle as twelve: a) It is possible to make lists varying in number and character. b) Spenser implies a second list of twelve political virtues; are these too drawn from Aristotle?

6) The interpretation of minor characters: a) I agree with many of these interpretations. b) In others a different and more logical psychological relation could be traced.

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al virtues, yet in default of the promised political exposition, we must study the forecast of what the poet proposed, in what he regarded as the initial stage of his plan.

There is a possibility, moreover, of studying in the material left us two phases of Spenser's ideas of government, the theoretical, which is based upon Greek philosophy, and the practical, which rests largely upon his experience in Ireland, but which is, perhaps, tinged with Machiavellian principles.

The first is, of course, an extension of the theory of the virtues. Spenser's ideal of the perfect man, and his relation to Platonic, Aristotelian, and contemporary thought have been already discussed. Theoretically, the Greeks placed the state above the individual,[1] and regarded rulers as instruments of the common good.[2] Practically, the emphasis of discussion was centred upon the moral character of the rulers. Aristotle states: "Virtue is,--, a formal state of mind united with the assent of the will, and based upon an ideal of what is best in actual life-- an ideal set up by Right Reason, according as the moral sense of the good man would determine its application."[3] Elsewhere he says: "If ---there is any one superior to the rest of the community in virtues and abilities for active life, him it is proper to follow.---." But he makes his meaning clear; this ruler must not have virtue alone, but a capacity for leadership. This is a quality which most often accompanies "self-dependent contemplation" and discursive mental energies, that find their practical end in virtuous activity. Therefore, he declares, those men who formulate the plans which others follow are more truly active than those who execute their designs.[4]

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[1] Aristotle: Politics, Bk.I, C.ii.

[2] Aristotle: Ethics, Bk.I, C.10; Book II, C.13.

[3] Ethics: Bk.II, C.6.

[4] Politics: Bk.VII, C.3; Cf. Plato: Statesman (Jowett: V.III (1892) p.592 ...)

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In more idealistic fashion, Plato has foreshadowed the practical theory of Aristotle. Philosophers are the true priests of virtue, the right rulers and guides of the state. No state will ever become perfect until philosophers are "providentially compelled-------to take care of the state, and until a like necessity is laid upon the state to obey them"[1]; and again, "When the supreme power in man coincides with the greatest wisdom and temperance, then the best laws and the best constitution come into being."[2]

These ideas Spenser had imbibed, and they formed the central feature of his theory, when, looking forward to the kingship of Leicester, he endowed him with all the virtues of an ideal sovereign. Beyond this point of contact, it is clear that the influence must be one of attitude and general theory rather than of parallelism.

Neither Plato nor Aristotle limited the administration of government to one man. "If power be in the hands of many," says Aristotle, "there exists a composite virtue which acts as a check."[3] Again, he says the power of election should be placed in the hands of many;[4] that a state should be governed by all free men through rotation in office;[5] and that it is a proof of a well-constituted government if it admits the people to a share, and still remains unaltered in its form of polity.[6] This is, however, an ideal condition. From a standpoint of practical policy, rigid class distinctions are made, and there is a spirit of intolerance toward the masses which is characteristic of all aristocratic governments. Even as he concedes to citizens a seat in the public assemblies, he urges that they shall not be entrusted with the first

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[1] Rep., Bk.VI. [2] Laws: Bk.IV,p.94. [3] Politics: Bk.III,C.11,p.106.
[4] Ibid.,III , 11, p.104. [5] Ibid.,II,iii,p.36.
[6] Ibid.,II,11,p.74; Cf.Plato:Laws, Bk.V, pp.127-150.

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offices of the state on account of ignorance and injustice. Office, he says, should be in the hands of trained and educated men, and they should be persons of independence and property.[1] And while nobility of birth is not a sine qua non, and does not insure virtue, yet when "men of noble family and those possessing wealth and power" also possess virtue they are more "deservedly worthy of honour."[2] All matters are regulated by strict and detailed laws. Plato tells us that it is better that a man of wisdom and royal power should rule than the law because no law can be framed to all the variations of time and condition, but lacking the perfection of man the laws are protectors.[3] Aristotle says firmly the supreme power should be vested in the law.[4] Throughout life, conduct should be restrained by reason and moral discipline which carries with it some power of coercion; therefore we should be continually under the control and guidance of the laws. Theories are found to urge forward and encourage such as are noble-minded, high-tempered, and enamoured of virtue, but they are powerless to incite the masses to the practice of virtue and the sentiment of honour. The masses are to be controlled by fear rather than by self-respect, since they have no conception of what is noble and inherently good.[5] Compulsion rather than reason is the motive to which they yield obedience; pains and penalties are with them more efficacious than the sense of right.

These principles are carried out by a detailed system of laws which divide classes, professions and trades, and regulate religion and family life as well as all other social and political relations.[6] Nor must the influence of slavery upon the social order be forgotten. For it is a most potential factor in creating an aristocratic class.

[1] Politics: III,11,p.106,sq. [2] Ethics: IV, 8.
[3] Statesman: p.579 sq. [4] Politics:III,9,p.104. [5] Ethics:X,10, pp.577-580.
[6] Rep.,II,p.49 sq.; Laws,V,p.126 sq.; Politics,VII,9,p.249;

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and in bringing into contempt manual labor. True, the leisure afforded by this institution was also productive of remarkable intellectual results, a fact fully recognized by Aristotle, when he writes: "---where citizens are really men of intrinsic and not relative goodness, none of them should be permitted to exercise any low mechanical employment or traffic, as being ignoble and destructive to virtue,---for leisure is necessary in order to improve in virtue and to perform the duty which they owe to the state."[1]

The outcome of the idealistic and philosophic speculations, therefore, is not a state in which the self-determination of the people shall be sovereign law, but it is an intellectual aristocracy, in which the intellectuals, seeing clearly and rightly what is best for the masses, prescribe their status and function, and create the laws to maintain theirvown decisions. "Law involves a power of obligation," says Aristotle, "since its decision is one that issues from a Kind of Moral Insight and Abstract Reason."[2] This consciousness of intellectual superiority and moral rectitude bred both autocracy and conservatism. The intellectuals sought the true happiness of the state by teaching the people virtue and obedience to the law. They did not, however, deceive themselves; they perceived that to the noble man virtue, honor and meditation constituted happiness, but that the desire of the masses was for sensual pleasures; therefore they decreed that those who were as inferior to their fellows as the body is to the soul, were slaves by nature, and that they should always be under the law.[3]

We have no indication in Spenser's work of a theory of government which involved a change of existing conditions. The hereditary nobility of England formed an aristocratic class which, although the people

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[1] Politics, VII, 9. [2] Ethics, X, 10, 581. [3] Politics, I, 5, p. 12.

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held "seats in the assembly", administered the functions of government as truly as did the intellectuals of Plato and Aristotle. With this community of basis, the assimilation of Greek idealism and policy became a matter of inference with the poet and philosopher. His high idealism is evinced not only in his portrayal of the perfect man in Arthur, but by the incarnation of the virtues in the patron knights. And if a little reasonable speculation may be indulged, as he designed in Arthur the ideal ruler of his proposed work on politics, so also in these knights he would have found ideal counsellors. For Aristotle recognized Temperance and Justice as equally virtues of the individual and the state, Magnanimity as peculiarly the virtue of a ruler, Courtesy as a virtue of a statesman, and even Friendship as an element in politics.[1] Spenser is conscious of all these facts, but a more practical application of the intellectual viewpoint of the Greeks exists in his conviction, aside from the thread of his story, that the offices of government should be filled by men of education and wisdom,[2] and in his own ambition (a subject already discussed and demonstrated as a conventional view) to hold such office by right of his learning and creative gift of poesy.

Spenser's general indebtedness to Greek thought aside from ethic conceptions, was an attitude of absolute conservatism. He believed in the rightness of the existing order of society, in the divine right of

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[1] Ethics: Bk. VIII, p. 432.

[2]
"The sectaries of my celestial skill
That wont to be the worlde's chiefe ornament,
And learned impes that wont to shoot up still,
And grow to height of kingdomes government
They underkeep,----------

It most behoves the honorable race
Of mightie peeres true wisdome to sustaine,
And with their noble countenaunce to grace
The learned forheads without gifts or gaine:
Or rather learnd themselves behoves to bee;
That is the girlond of nobilitee." Teares of the Muses, ll. 73, sq.

Cf. M.H.T, ll. 717-793. The ideal courtier.

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kings,[1] in the inherent superiority of noble blood,[2] in the rule of a governing class,[3] in the innate inferiority of the masses, in the supreme authority of law,[4] and in the right and just administration of government.

Beyond this almost temperamental attitude, there were some stirrings of the national quickness and vast ambitions of the Renaissance; and in practical politics as set forth in his A Veue of the Present State of Ireland, there is a sternness, born of his own experiences in that unhappy land, and echoing both the rigor of Grey and the repressive policy of Aristotle.

Spenser nowhere makes a direct statement of his political views, but scattered throughout his work are to be found incidental expressions which, when merged in a comprehensive whole, substantiate the above statements. To attempt a complete summary of such expressions would be to compile a miniature concordance. The most that can be attempted here is a brief illustrative statement of the obvious points.

Spenser believed in the existing order of society:

"Ah fou! now by thy losse art taught
That seeldome chaunge the better brought
Content who lives with tryed state
Neede feare no chaunge of frowning fate
But who will seeke for unknowne gayne
Oft lives by losse, and leaves with payne."

S. C., Sept., ll.68 sq.[5]

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[1] F. Q., V. ii, 41; Bk. V, Prol., St. 10.

[2] F. Q., I, i, 50; VI, ii, 24; VI, iii, 11; VI, v, 1, 2. Hymn of Beauty, l. 140.

[3] F. Q., Bk. V, Prol.; Cf. Sir Thomas Smith, De Republica Anglorum: Bk. 1, C. 24; Plato: Rep. VII, p. 220.

[4] V. Pr. St. Ire., pp. 16-17, 59.

[5] Cf. View of Pres. State of Ire., p. 147, l. 4118 sq.

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The most excellent exposition of his views on this subject is to be found in the debate between Artegall, Justice, and the giant who represents socialism. (F.Q., V, ii, 29-54.) The giant proclaims the inequality of all things, and promises that he will repair "realms and nations run awry", all nature,---

"And all things would reduce unto equality."

"Therefore the vulgar did about him flocke,
And cluster thicke unto his leasings vaine,
Like foolish flies about an hony crocke,
In hope by him great benefite to gaine,
And uncontrolled freedome to obtaine."

When Artegall saw the "simple peoples" so misled, he reproves the giant, and says things were never equal---

"For at the first they all created were
In goodly meansure by their makers might,"

and

"Such heavenly justice doth among them raine
That every one doe know their certaine bound,
In which they doe these many yeares remaine,
And mongst them al no change hath yet beene found."

For

"All change is perillous, and all chaunce unsound."

The giant replies that all things are in bad shape;--"each estate quite out of order goth", and it would be well that wrong should surcease, and that some should be taken from the most and given to the least. He declares that he will equalize matters:

"Tyrants that make men subject to their law,
I will suppresse, that they no more may raine;

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And lordings curbe, that commons over-aw;

And all the wealth of rich men to the poore will draw."

Artegall again asserts the supreme power of God:

"All in the powre of their great Maker lie;

All creatures must obey the voice of the Most Hie."

"They live, they die, like as He doth ordaine,

Ne ever any asketh reason why.

He maketh kings to sit in soverainty;

He maketh subjects to their powre obay;

He pulleth downe, He setteth up on hy;

He gives to this, from that he takes away:

Ne any may His mighty will withstand;

Ne loose that He hath bound with stedfast band."

It is vain for the giant to seek to alter things of which he knows neither the cause nor nature.

"Ill can he rule the great, that cannot reach the small."

The discussion shifts to ethic grounds, and the giant endeavors to weigh right and wrong, false and true; again he is proved an impostor, and Talus shoulders him into the sea.

The above passage clearly demonstrates Spenser's conservatism. Here too is voiced his contempt for the rabble, and his view of the treatment to be accorded them. For when the people saw their leader fall,

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and with him vanish their expectation of wondrous riches,

"They gan to gather in tumultuous rout,

And mutining, to stirre up civil faction."

When Artegall saw the lawless multitude, and was troubled;--

"For loth he was his noble hands t'embrow

In the base blood of such a rascall crew;"

But when Talus comes and lays about him with a flail,

"He like a swarm of flyes them overthrew;"

and trembling and dismayed the whole rascall rout flee and hide "in holes and bushes from his view."

Elsewhere is evinced this same attitude of contemptuous dislike. When fair Cambina comes to her brother's aid, her strange team breaking "-----through th'unruly preace

Of people thronging thick --

Great heapes of them, like sheepe in narrow fold,

For hast did over-runne, in dust enrould;

That thorough rude confusion of the rout,

Some fearing shriekt, some being harmed hould."

F.Q., IV,iii,41.

Artegall sees a knight in distress:

"Of a rude rout him chasing to and fro,

That sought with lawlesse powre him to oppresse,

And bring in bondage of their brutishnesse,

---------- amid their rakehell bands."

F.Q., V,ii,44 sq.

Again the rude violence of the mob can be and is dispelled only by the stern iron might of Talus. Burbon appeals to Artegall for aid against a rude swarm of peasants, whom the knights hunt like squirrels; but it is Talus who continues the slaughter with "unpittied spoyle", until even

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Artegall stays his hand. (F.Q.,V,11,57 sq.)

It is peculiarly significant that most of the passages dealing with the rabble occur in the Book of Justice, hence it is clearly a policy which Spenser is proclaiming.[1] But in contrast to this attitude of overbearing intolerance, Spenser's idea of government is one of law and order, whether applied to public or personal matters.

"Fayre Canacee------
That was the learnedst ladie in her dayes,

----rul'd her thoughts with goodly government,
For dread of blame and honours blemishment;"

F.Q.,IV,ii,36.

The wife of Sir Mordaunt tells how she withdrew him from the enchantress Acrasia, under whose charms he had lost all sense of honor, and labored with him:-

"Till through wise handling and faire governaunce,
I him recured to a better will."

F.Q.,II,i,54.

A chief virtue of the courtier is his,

"--- wise and civill governaunce." M.H.T.,l.782.

Talus accompanies Artegall as

"The true guide of his way and vertuous government."

F.Q.,V,viii,3.

Guyon is likewise guided by his Palmer's governaunce (Bk.II,xii,Arg; C,XII,38.) to the successful accomplishment of his venture.

This same sense of law and order is exhibited in the organization of community centres. In sharp contrast to the general loose plan of the poet's work, stand out the perfect arrangement and orderly detail

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[1] Cf. An excellent passage on this theme: F.Q.,II,ix,13-37.

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of the House of Alma,[1] and the House of Holiness, which

"--- governed was, and guided evermore
Through wisedome of a matrone grave and hore."

F.Q., I, X, iii.

And in the hospital:

"The first of them that eldest was and best,
Of all the house has charge and governement." F.Q., I, X, 37-38.

As soon as the king of Eden learns of the death of the dragon, he

"Proclaymed joy and peace through all his state,
For dead was their foe which them forrayed late."

F.Q., I, xii, 3.

Britomart, on her conquest of Amazon City, at once set about restoring order. As reigning princess, she repealed the laws of the commonwealth, and taking away the liberty of women she restored them to subjection to men. The imprisoned knights she made magistrates, with large living and fee, and caused them to swear fealty to Artegall. In short, she conducted herself as became an energetic and politic ruler. (F.Q., V, vii, 42 sq.)

Arthur when he freed Belgium, did not leave

"Untill he had her [the queen] settled in her raine,
With safe assurance and establishment." F.Q., V, xi, 35.

In his account of the House of Pryde, Spenser gives an inverse view of

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[1] The House of Alma is of course the dwelling place of the soul; its regiment is that of Right Reason. The episode is based directly or indirectly upon the Timaeus of Plato. Judging from the juxtaposition of ideas as to symbolic geometric forms and numbers (II, IX, 22), and the mechanically symbolic organization of the body, I should say directly through a process of rationalization. (Timaeus: Ed. Archer-Hind, London, 1888. See especially Chapters XXXI and XXXIV.) As an adjunct to the Platonic setting is developed the Aristotelian theory of extremes: Arthur is confronted with Prays-desire, the excess of Magnanimity's desire of honour: Guyon meets Shamefastnes, uncouth and ill at ease, the excess of Temperance. (F.Q., II, IX, X, XI.)

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what government should be. Lucifera had

"Ne heritage of native soveraintie

But did usurp with wrong and tyrannie.

Ne ruld her realm with laws but pollicie."

The poet depicts in her councillors, the Seven Deadly Sins, the opposite of the virtues. The Church is satyrised in Idleness, and evil is the wayne led --

"When such an one had guiding of the way,

That knew not whether right he went, or else astray."

Gluttony with dulled besotted mind is

"Not meet to be of counsell to a king."

And worst of all is Wrath, in whose train come unrest, sedition, murder, war, and disease. (F.Q.,I,IV, 11-37.)

In Mammon, too, is found an evil source of government which wrongfully controls;

"Riches, renowne and principality,

Honour, estate and all this worldes good." F.Q.,II,vii,8.

The genealogies (F.Q.,II,x) abound in many stray bits of criticism, and commendation of government, which show the general trend toward the commendation of peace and encouragement of learning, and condemnation of war.

In Elizabeth's government it is the glorious peace which she maintains that the poet celebrates, from the April song of the Shepheards Calendar to the last book of the Faerie Queene.

"Chloris, that is the chiefest nymph of al,

Of olive braunches bears a coronall:

Olives bene for peace,

When wars do surcease:

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The episode of Medina combines an exposition of the Aristotelian mean with the praise of Elizabeth. Medina's dwelling is the castle of Governaunce, impregnable and enduring. In her appeal to the warring knights, she voices the policy of Elizabeth and the theories of Spenser. She begs them to cease from unreasoning strife:

"Is this the joy of armes? be these the parts
Of glorious knighthood, after blood to thrust,
And not regard dew right and just desarts?
Vaine is the vaunt and victory unjust,
That more to mighty hands than rightful cause doth trust."

"And were there rightful cause of difference
Yet were not better, fayre it to accord,
Then with bloodguiltiness to heape offence
And mortal vengeaunce joyne to crime abhord?

Sad be the sights and bitter fruites of warre,
And thousand furies wait on wrathfull sword;

But lovely concord and most sacred peace,
Doth nourish vertue, and fast friendship breeds;
Weake she makes strong, and strong thing does increace,
Till it the pitch of highest praise exceeds;
Brave be her warres and honorable deeds
By which she triumphes over yre and pride,
And winnes an olive girland for her meeds." F.Q., II, ii, 19-31.

And lest the lesson be not plain enough, the poet adds in the words of Guyon:

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"This thy demaund, O lady, doth revive
Fresh memory in me of that great queene,

That with her soveraine powre and sceptre shene,
All Faery Lond does peaceably sustene;
In widest ocean she her throne does reare,
That over all the earth it may be seene,
As morning sunne her beames dispredden cleare,
And in her face faire peace and mercy doth appeare.[1]

"In her the richesse of all heavenly grace,
In chiefe degree are heaped up on hye;

That men beholding so great excellence
And rare perfection in mortalitye,
Doe her adore with sacred reverence,
As th'idole of her Makers great magnificence."

F.Q., II, ii, 40-41.

In the prologue of the Book of Justice, the poet states that he must return to ancient days to seek the "discipline

Of vertue and of civill uses lore,"

for then all the world was goodness,-- "All loved vertue", there was neither force nor fraud; no war was known; peace universal reigned, and Justice---

"Most sacred vertue she of all the rest,
Resembling God in his imperiall might;
Whose soveraine powre is herein most exprest,
That both to good and bad he dealeth right,
And all his workes with justice hath bedight.

---

1 Nationalism.

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That powre he also doth to princes lend,
And makes them like himselfe in glorious sight,
To sit in his owne seate, his cause to end,
And rule his people right, as he doth recommend."

Prol.: 10-11.

The Book of Justice is preeminently the book of government. Justice was with Aristotle a virtue both of the man and the state, more especially the latter, and so Spenser interprets it. The poet's invention flags here. The administration of justice is illustrated by a number of episodes that are too evident for artistry. Indeed, it is the politician who writes rather than the poet, and the veil of allegory barely covers his interest in contemporary political events.

It has been said that Spenser reflected something of the glow of nationalism which illuminated the Renaissance. In the prologue of Book II, he alludes to the vast discoveries in the new world, and again (Bk. II, XI, 4) he vaunts the glory of Elizabeth who in "widest ocean" has reared her throne. Later he speaks with keen reproach that these dominions are not made secure:

"Rich Oranochy, though but knowen late;
And that huge river which doth beare his name
Of warlike Amazons, which doe possesse the same.

xxii

"Joy on those warlike women, which so long
Can from all men so rich a kingdome hold!
And shame on you, O men, which boast your strong
And valiant hearts, in thoughts lesse hard and bold,
Yet quail in conquest of that land of gold!

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But this to you, O Britons, most portaines
To whom the right hereof it selfe hath sold;
The which, for sparing little cost or paines,
Loose so immortall glory, and so endlesse gaines."

F.Q., IV, xi, 21-22.

There is perhaps, too, more of pride in the power of his great country than of altruism in his praise of the queen for her justice and magnanimity in the rescue of Belgium and Ireland.

The whole policy advocated here is dictated by the same motive, fear of the power of Spain, and through that of Catholicism. The same fear underlay the execution of Mary of Scotland, and Spenser's defence of that deed. This policy can be designated by but one technical term, nationalism.

There are, however, in this book, features of policy which present a more personal attitude of the poet. The adventure of Artegall in rescue of Irena is an account of the administration of Grey. Spenser gives voice to his inflexible and fearless sense of justice both in his defence of Grey and in his condemnation of the disorder and disloyalty in Ireland. He bitterly condemns the extortion and bribery which is rife among the native rulers, and the oppression of the weak. But for the prevailing disorder he sees no remedy save in the iron might of Talus. The rigor of his justice is a defence of the stern policy of Grey; Munera is slain without mercy; the head of Pollente is fixed to a pole,

"To be a mirrour to all mighty men,
In whose right hands great power is contayned,
That none of them the feeble overren,
But alwaies doe their powre within just compasse pen."

F.Q., V, ii, 19.

Talus slays the rabble by thousands. The policy defended by

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Spenser here is that which he advises in his View of the Present State of Ireland.[1] The complete subjugation of the people must precede the restoration of law and order. The colonies he devises[2] are like the colonies of Plato[3] and of Machiavelli.[4] His scheme for dividing the people into trades or classes[5] is an echo of Plato's Republic, as is his provision for the moral instruction of the young and his condemnation of their native bards.[6]

The citations of Spenser's ideas of government have been made, with few exceptions, from the Faerie Queene, the peculiar field of this thesis. In Mother Hubbard's Tale, however, there is much that could be drawn to the support of theories already stated. Moreover, the Church and the state were one, and he rebukes those shepherds:

"That not content with loyal obeysaunce,
Some gan to gape for greedie governaunce,
And match them selfe with mighty potentates,
Lovers of lordship and troublers of state." S.C., May Ec., ll.120 sq.

Elsewhere in the Calendar, the Faerie Queene, and the View of Ireland, he evinces a keenly critical attitude toward the shortcomings of the Church. But this criticism is directed almost impartially against the Churchman, the Catholic, and the Puritan, and attacks not doctrine or sect, but the unworthy individual. His utterances here as elsewhere are characterized by his own strong sense of personal responsibility and honor, and by his respect for law and order.

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[1] Pp.141,148-9,153,159-168,189. [2] Ibid.,pp.190 sq.

[3] Laws, Bk.IV,p.89 sq.

[4] Il Principe: (Ed. L. A. Burd,) C.III.

[5] View of the Present State of Ireland, pp.235 sq.; Laws: V,pp.126 sq.; Bruno: Gli Eroici Furori, Part II,Div.2,p.402.

[6] View of the Present State of Ireland, pp.239-241.

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The process of vivisection which has been pursued in the above summary is that of cutting into living tissue to discover the current of thought, and is rewarded with almost equal success. The ideas of Spenser as developed through his extensive works are not to be comprehended through a few excerpts. The Faerie Queene must be read not once but again and yet again if from her ways

"-- so exceeding spacious and wyde,

And sprinckled with such sweet variety"--

the reader is to learn its trend of thought, is to be able to gather up the scattered phrases, or to trace a recurrent influence, until he can say this is what Spenser believed.

An attempt has been made, nevertheless, to present as clearly as possible the expression of Spenser's views of government. His mind was steeped in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. He had no Utopian dreams of reform, no socialistic ideas of the equality of man, no humanitarian desire for the uplift of the masses. The complete orderliness of the Greek system and the fixity of class distinctions found a reflection in the constitution of his own government. His strongest characteristic was conservatism. Adherence to a fixed order, and compression to conformity of any divergence from that order were the first tenets of his creed.

But the Greek emphasis upon the moral and intellectual character of the individual was strong within him. It was not impractical idea which made the good man the basis of good government. Hence Spenser's strongest emphasis is thrown upon the right administration of government, the preservation of peace, and restoration of order.

The laws were paramount. If in the maintenance of order or execution of office, force became necessary, it was to be used without stint, for neither the forces of tyranny nor of ignorance were to be allowed

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"For powre is the right hand of Justice truely hight."

F.Q., V.iv.1.

In thus positing Greek thought as a dominating influence in Spenser's outlook upon life, it is not intended to set him apart from his age. Greek thought was the cultural thought of the Renaissance. It permeated literature. It offered an ethic substitute for the waning interest in religion which characterized the immediate period. This feature in Spenser but affiliates him more perfectly with his literary and social environment. Finding on all sides fragmentary or incomplete presentation of philosophic thought, in his wider knowledge, he sought to reexpress for his countrymen, in complete form, the Greek concept of ethics, and in so doing he foreshadows their politics.

Greek philosophy exerted its influence upon the personal character of Spenser. His loyalty, temperance, justice and friendship are the virtues of which he writes. The sanctions of philosophy, rather than the emotion of religion, is his always. And although the province of this thesis is more particularly the literary criticism of the Renaissance, a force which shapes the life and thought of the age and generates its literary conceptions is not to be disregarded as a critical factor,

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CHAPTER IV.

Epic Structure: Incomplete state of poem.-- Features of unity in basic plan.-- Discrepancies between plan as outlined in letter to Raleigh and execution.-- Uniformity of arrangement, an effort toward unity. Classic elements in conception of structure.-- Classic unity abandoned.-- Double standard of unity.-- Growth in critical conception of freedom.-- Vauquelin de la Fresnaye.-- Romance structure. Influence of Ariosto.-- Defence of romance structure.-- Conclusion.

For more than three centuries the structure of the Faerie Queene has been the despair of commentators. To reach any kind of conclusion it is absolutely necessary to keep in mind the failure of Spenser to carry out his large designs. It has been shown he purposed to write a philosophic poem which should prescribe the qualities of a virtuous leader, and passing over the border line upon which the virtues of the individual and state meet, should establish through the individual a theory of government. He executed one-fourth of the projected work, and instead of a rounded exposition of philosophy has left us a variantly beautiful romance. A logical study of structure, therefore, must be based first upon the original design and the critical theory upon which it was grounded, and the outcome of that design had it been carried to completion; second upon the modifying influence of other critical theories, of example, and of material.

Stripped of episode the plan of the Faerie Queene is simple. Gloriana, the Queene of Faerie Land, who represents glory in general and Elizabeth in particular, is surrounded by a band of noble knights who execute her will, and go forth in search of adventure in true chivalric fashion. These represent the twelve Aristotelian virtues. Prince Arthur, as Magnificence, rides in quest of Gloriana whom he has seen in a vision.

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An analysis of Spenser's design reveals a framework of three concentric circles. The first is the court of Gloriana, where she holds her annual feast of twelve days, and whither come her subjects to seek the redress of their wrongs. The second is the group of Elfin knights. They take their inspiration from Gloriana, and find occasion for their several adventures in the happenings of the twelve days of the feast. The third is found in the person of Arthur, who embodies in himself in higher degree, the virtues of all the other knights and excels them in action. In his search for the Faerie Queene, he rides on the outskirts of the whole action ready to appear as a providence or a resolving force when needed.

Spenser has, indeed, suggested a fourth circle in the enveloping action of a great Paymin war. The first allusion to this is in the invocation which prefaces the battle with the dragon:

> "Fayre goddesse, lay that furious fitt asyde
> Till I of warres and bloody Mars doe sing,
> And Bryton fieldes with Sarazin blood bedyde,
> Twixt that great Faery Queene and Paynim King
> That with their horror heven and earth did ring.
> A worke of laboure long, and endlesse prayse.
> F. Q., I, ii, 7.

Again the Red Cross Knight after he has slain the dragon assigns the war as the reason he must leave Una; for he has vowed

> ". . . to serve her (Gloriana) sixe yeares in warlike wys,
> Gainst that proud Paynim King that works her teene."
> F. Q., I, xii, 18.

These references may indicate a more extended plan on the part of the poet in accordance with greater epic elevation; they may form a part of the political allegory and point to an anticipated war with Philip of Spain: or they may simply look forward

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to the events of the fifth book. All of the three are feasible but the first is most probable, as in accordance with critical demand. However, Since, these references occur only in the first book, and the plan is not noted in the letter to Raleigh, we may reasonably conclude that it was early abandoned, and forms no part of the structural unity of the poem.

If, nevertheless, the plan of the war should be included as an enveloping action, a further analysis of the design would show that Spenser has posited practically every form of unity sanctioned by criticism. In the person of Arthur we have a single hero, and in his search for the Faerie Queene a single uniform and complete action.[1] This is as complete in design as the vaunted unity of the Odyssey, in its single hero, and the single action of his journey home.[2] In the twelve knights we have a group of men who are bent upon action having a common source, and leading to a common end in the execution of justice in the queen's domain. The twelve-day feast, and the assemblage of the people for judgment is another complete action At the centre of the three circles is Gloriana the cause and inspiration of the whole.[3]

In respect to allegoric unity Spenser has again achieved

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1. Aristotle: Poetics: (see Butcher) C. xiii, 4.: "A well constructed plot should, therefore, be single in its issue, rather than double as some maintain."
Ibid. C. 22, 1. "It (Epic) should have for its subject a single action whole and complete."
2. Ibid.: Ibid. C. viii, 4-- "Homer made the Odyssey and likewise the Iliad to centre round an action that in our sense of the word is one."
3. Puttenham: The Arte of English Poesie: C. 1, p. 5"... forsooth by your Princely purse, favours, and countenance, making in maner what ye list, the poore man rich, the lewd well learned the coward courageous, and vile both noble and valiant: then for imitation no lesse, your person as a most cunning counterfaitor liuely representing Venus in countenance, in life Diana, Pallas for gouernment, and Iuno in all honour and magnificence."

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a certain enconomy of design. From a moral standpoint the queen as Glory draws about her a brilliant court. She is the inspiration which leads the knights to consummate their virtues in action. She is also the magnet of beauty and virtue which draws on Magnificence to the utmost height of attainment. Politically the picture of Elizabeth, as the centre of gayety and brilliance, as the dispenser of justice is perfect. There is too beneath the loyal and devoted service of her knights, who, it must be remembered, most probably represented the great nobles of the court,[1] a subtle suggestion of the queen's dependence upon her powerful courtiers. The days of the King-maker were not too far distant to be remembered, and no one knew better than the politic Elizabeth the possibilities of rebellion, which existed in her own kingdom. In the personification of Leicester as Arthur, Spenser honors his patron and places his own political views before the people. The silent devotion of Arthur, and the consecration of his life to the service of the Faerie Queene, must have constituted a powerful appeal to both the queen and woman. His superiority not to one, but to all the nobles, and his ability to carry her decrees to a successful issue when lesser knights fail in the attempt, proclaimed Leicester in the eyes of the world the only fit consort for Elizabeth.

The above analysis relates only to the basic conception of the poet, or is the scheme reduced to its lowest terms.

Had Spenser been content to follow out any one of the three

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1. This problem has no part in the present discussion, but suggestion may be found in the Dedicatory Sonnets.

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embryo schemes of unity which he had conceived, had he exalted one and subordinated the others, he might have achieved an organized poem. Had Gloriana appeared as the liege lady of her knights, instead of coming unheralded and unrecognized as Belphoebe and as Mercilla; had Arthur gathered around him in a band the knights whom he aided, and started for Faery Lond, instead of wandering aimlessly on alone: had the knights recognized their leader, heralded him to the next champion, or pointed his way to the Faerie Court, there might have been unity. But none of these things was done.

The genius of Spenser was neither creative nor constructive his conceptions were too comprehensive and too vast to recognize the basic unity of his own design. In giving Gloriana a triple personality, he loses his central unity. In exalting Arthur's role as super-hero, he loses the unity of single action, and achieves the many actions of one man condemned by Aristotle.[1] In emphasizing the individuality of the knights he loses the group unity of a common end, and substitutes the many actions of many men defended by Cinthio and Castelvetro. In seeking to secure more than one point of unity Spenser lost all, and the result is an incoherent structure of episodic plot.[2]

The result is certain; the cause is still in doubt. All

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1. Aristotle: Poetics: C. VIII.
2. Ibid: C. IX, 10. "Of all plots and actions the episodic are the worst. I call a plot 'episodic' in which the episodes or acts succeed one another without probable or necessary sequence. Bad poets compose such pieces by their own fault, good poets, to please the players; for, as they write show pieces for competition, they stretch the plot beyond its capacity, and are often forced to break natural continuity." This reference relates to tragic plot, but as the rules of tragedy are so largely transferred to epic, it seems ~~partly~~ applicable here.

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knowledge of Spenser refutes the charge of uncritical and inartistic conception. There remain two causes. The first is carelessness in execution. This may be due: to frequent changes of plan attendant upon the incorporation of material not originally a part of the epic, or upon altered social and political conditions; to changes made for artistic purposes; to the incomplete state of the work; or to hasty revision. The second is an artistic attitude or conception which deliberately adjudges other critical theories as of higher value than the classic rule of unity, or which interprets these rules by a different standard.

Since the actual cause of these changes must rest upon speculative hypothesis, little attempt will be made in this discussion to distinguish them.

The plan for an enveloping action of a Great Paynim war, alluded to by Spenser, but abandoned without development, has been discussed above.

In the letter to Raleigh, the poet states that he has plunged into the midst of his story, which with "an historiographer" would really begin with the twelfth book: "--which is the last; where I devise that the Faery Queene kept her annuall feaste XII dayes, uppon which XII severall dayes, the occasions of the severall adventures hapned which being undertaken by XII severall knights are in these XII books severally handled and discoursed." This is explicit enough in statement, but if the poet has thrust "into the middest", where "recoursing to the thinges forepaste, and divining of thinges to come" he makes "a pleasing analysis of all", why is the beginning put at the end, and what advantage has he gained by a simple reversion of order? If for the sake of argument the twelve books of the politic virtues be included,

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the poet's integrity is preserved in one instance only to be destroyed in another, for he writes "the twelfth booke, which is the last."

Furthermore the statement is most explicit that the happening of each day constitutes the motivation for the adventure of one of the twelve knights then present at the court, and that in this adventure each knight is to be the "patron and defender .... of that virtue whereof he is the protector."[1] Therefore according to the express plan the twelfth book must be devoted both to the happenings on each of the twelve days of the feast, and to the adventure of the twelfth knight. The student may therefore, inquire with reasonable concern when the conclusion will be reached, for the next twelve books are to be devoted to the "polliticke vertues" in his [Arthur's] person after that he came to be king."

There are yet other more flagrant discrepancies between Spenser's written plan and its execution. It has been made clear that the knights representing the virtues were to be of Gloriana's court, and were to set out from there upon adventures motivated by occurrences taking place during the feast, some of which are described in detail in the letter to Raleigh. Thus Spenser writes "The second day ther came in a palmer bearing an infant with bloody hands, whose parents he complained to have been slayn by an enchaunteresse called Acrasia." An examination of Bk. II, c. 1. reveals the fact that Sir Guyon and the Palmer are already well on their way when they find the victims of Acrasia, the dead knight, the dying lady and the innocent babe who gleefully dabbles his hands in his mother's blood. Guyon takes a vow for himself

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and the child to avenge its unfortunate parents:

> "Such and such evil God on Guyon reare
> And worse and worse, young orphane, be thy payne,
> If I or thou dew vengeance doe forbeare
> Till guiltie blood her guerdon doe obtayne."
> Faerie Queene, Bk. II, C. ii, st. 61.

He christens the child Ruddy-mane, and leaves him in the care of Medina:

> "The Bloody-handed babe unto her truth
> Did earnestly committ, and her conjure
> In vertuous love to traine his tender youth,
> And all that gentle noriture ensueth."
> Faerie Queene, Bk. II, C. iii.

Here Spenser has made a distinct gain in artistic value by the presentation rather than narration of his motive cause.

The change in Bk. III is more difficult of explanation. For here the protagonist, Britomart, who gives the title as well as the theme, to the book, is not an elfin knight but a warrior maid, the personification of Chastity, and she comes from:

> "The Greater Brytayne, here to seeke for praise and fame."
> Faerie Queene, Bk. III, C. ii, st. 7.

Her quest is motivated by her love for Arthegall, whom she seeks. As the protector of Chastity she accomplishes the adventure undertaken by Scudamour to whom the book really belongs, for on the third day a groom comes to the court and tells how a lady, Amoretta, is detained by the vile enchanter, Busirane. Sir Scudamour as the lover of that lady undertook the adventure. Here arises two complications. Scudamour is "Cupid's man"; Amoret, whom he wins by battle with twenty knights is "Venus' maid".[1] Scudamour bears Cupid's Shield, and by all rights of the general design Bk. III should be the Legend of Love and Scudamour its titular hero.

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1. F. Q. IV, C. 10, st. 54. l. 7.

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The discrepancy between the express statements of the letter to Raleigh and the structure of books two and three throws a curious light upon the actual date of the letter, or else proves a very late revision.[1] In either case the changes establish a fine indifference to accuracy, which may be personal or may belong to the literature of the age, for Spenser could scarcely have forgotten such radical changes if indeed he made the seemingly careful summary of his work on "23, January, 1589."

Beside the above cited open departures from his structural scheme, there are other lapses no less important in their effect upon the unity of the whole. "Couragious Cambell and stout Priamond" whose friendship gives the theme for Bk. IV, are not Faery knights, nor are they bound upon a great adventure. They appear out of the nowhere and vanish with equal uncertainty as to their destination. In the book itself they play a minor part, and here rather than in the book which bears her name does Britomart complete her true quest and meet with Arthegall.[2]

But these points are insignificant when compared with the confused incompleteness of the Scudamour-Amoret story. We learn that after Scudamour has won Amoret by combat with twenty knights[3] he wedded her "as did him behove", and that,--

> "The very selfe same day that she was wedded,
> Amidst the bridale feast,....."

the vile enchanter Busyran brought in the "Mask of Love" and there "By way of sport, as oft in maskes is knowen", reft the bride

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1. See Note C. II, p.3
2. F. Q. IV, vi, 12.
3. Ibid, IV, x.
4. Ibid, IV, i, 2,3.

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away. It would seem that this occurrence should have motivated Scudamour's adventure rather than the tale of the groom who appeared at the court on the third day and told of the lady, Amoretta, held in vile durance by Busyran, "Whereupon Sir Scudamour, the lover of that lady presently tooke on him that adventure."[1]

Scudamour fails in his attempt to enter the enchanted palace of Busyran. Britomart comes to his aid, passes through the forbidding fire, and rescues Amoret. Here in the edition of 1590 Spenser brings the adventure of Scudamour to a conclusion and describes the meeting of the lovers in stanzas 43-47. In the edition of 1596 three stanzas are substituted for these, and the climax is deferred. Britomart finds that Scudamour despairing of her return has left. She is sorely disappointed but pursues her journey with Amoret. The latter strays from Britomart's care, passes through varied adventures and at last is found by Arthur who assumes the role of guardian. Britomart at last meets with Artegall and Scudamour. Later they encounter another party of knights: a fight ensues, which Arthur sees from afar, Leaving Amoret he goes to investigate the quarrel, and succeeds in calming the strife.

At this point[2] occurs the strangest oversight in the whole long poem. By all laws of unity and probability Amoret should be restored to her husband, but there is no account of the meeting. Britomart says, "Aye me, to see that gentle maide so tost". And Scudamour "then sighing deepe" adds:

> "Certes her losse ought me to sorrow most,
> Whose right she is, where ever she be straide,
> Through many perils wonne, and many fortunes maide.
>
> For from the first that I her love profest,

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1 Letter to Raleigh.

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Unto this houre, this present lucklesse houre,
I never joyed happinesse nor rest
But thus turmoild from one to other stowre,
I wast my life, and doe m. daies devowre
In wretched anguishe and incessant woe,
Passing the measure of my feeble powre
That, living thus a wretch and loving so,
I neither can my love, ne yet my life forgo.
~~Faerie~~ ~~Queene,~~ Bk. IV, C. ix, 37-38.

Arthur, who has been speaking in the previous stanza, hears all this. He holds the trump card of joy in the person of Amoret waiting in sight of the group, yet he speaks never a word, but fades as a spirit from the company, the canto, the book.

Scudamour is entreated to tell the story of his adventures if it were not "Dislikefull paine, so sad a taske to take" and the canto ends with the distinct impression that Amoret has not been seen. The whole of the next canto is occupied by an account of Scudamour's adventures in the Temple of Venus, and the assumption is of a quest happily ended, although there is but one definite line to betray the presence of Amoret. Scudamour says that he heard of the adventure and thought:

"That this same brave emprize for me did rest,
And that both shield and she whom I behold[1]
Might be my lucky lot, ..."
~~Faerie~~ ~~Queene,~~ Bk. IV, C. x, St. 4.

There are numerous minor inaccuracies[2] scattered through the

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1. Italics mine.
2. Bk. IV, viii and ix. Confusion of the denouement of the Placidas-Amyas story. Introductory verse states, The argument states
"The squire of low degree, releast
Poeana takes to wife."
This statement is contradicted by the psychology of the situation. Aemylia is told Amyas is faithful, and she greets him as a restored lover. Poeana grieves "For losse of her new love" (She had centered her affections on Placidas, who played the part of Amyas to relieve his friend,) and Arthur advises the "trusty squire" to marry Poeana. (C. x, st. 18.) This epithet had been previously applied to Placidas in stanza three, and it is to Placidas rather than Amyas that the title is suited. No hint is given of any rapprochement between Placidas and Aemylia, but Arthur leaves "These paires of friends in peace and settled rest." (Ibid, st. 17.) Another in-

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poem, but those cited above are sufficient to prove that Spenser either did not hold himself bound to an exact analysis of his work in the letter to Raleigh, or else he felt no obligation to carry out the positing of what was an earlier statement of plan.

Note continued

stance of a misleading guide-verse is in Bk. V, C. xii, where the first incident has already been included in C. xi.
Compare the use of name Guyon for R. C. K. The true reference is unmistakeable. (F.Q., III, ii, 4)
Bk. IV, C. viii and C. vii: Placidas comes galloping upon a horse, ~~that~~ he was only allowed to walk at large in the garden of his prison, Bk. I, C. viii, St. 25: Arthur's squire, who is supposed to be subdued by enchantment, pursues and brings back the fleeing Duessa. Bk. III, C. i, St. 1: Guyon and Arthur are found together at Home of Temperance after they have separated and gone on respective adventures, concerning with Acrasia and Maleger. Bk. III, C. iii, St. 17, 18, 19, 31: Archimago is represented as in pursuit of Britomart, a motif neither previously suggested nor continued.* Bk. IV, C. iv, St. 9, 10, She is described as a hag, and made the subject of a "loathly lady" motif. No hint of change in appearance has been given.
Bk. IV, C. viii, St. 19 and C. vii, St. 42: Discrepancy in length of time Timias is exiled from favor. Bk. IV, C. ix, St. 36: Knights excuse their attack on Britomart because she has despoiled them of Florimel. It was perfectly understood at the time that Florimel, being given her free choice, went with Braggadocio, Bk. L, C. iii, St. 22-23: Corceca and her daughter both pursue Una; St. 24, 25: The old woman appears alone. Bk. I, C. i, St. 4: Una rides on "lowly Asse", Bk. I, C. iii, St. 8: She rides palfrey. Either steed common in romance, but the names are not interchangeable. (Cf. M. E. D. C.: 1200 Tria. Coll. Hom. 89. "Woder stode ne palifrei ne fair mule."), Bk. V, C. iii, St. 28; It is stated that Florimell's girdle fitted none but her. It had fitted Amoret. Furthermore this girdle, a contest for which was made the occasion of a great tournament, had been used by Satyrane to bind the beast (Bk. iii, C. vii, St. 36), sent by the witch in pursuit of the true Florimel (Bk. III, C. vii, St. 21, et seq.). The beast broke his bonds and returned home. When the son of the witch saw the "broken girdle" (Bk. III, C. viii, St. 2 sq.) he went mad with grief. His mother to console him created the Snowy Florimell (St. 5-10). How the girdle came again in the possession of Satyrane, to be offered as a prize at a tournament must remain forever among unsolved literary mysteries.

* Bk IV, C. 1, St. 17, 18, 19, 31: Ate is represented under guise of beautiful lady, but in

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It is clear that the modern standard of exactness did not exist for Spenser and this point being established it is possible to pass to a discussion of the mechanical uniformity which has in a measure replaced structural unity.

Had Spenser preserved his design of motivating the action and dispatching the protagonists of the various books from the Faery Court, the result would have been a kind of radiate structure which would have touched at twelve points the outer circle of Arthur's action. This we have seen he did not do. Instead he has substituted as a framework a chain unity of inter-linkage, a mechanical uniformity of arrangement, and a personal direction of events.

The leading characters of one book ride into the next and hand over the action to the central figures of that pageant. Thus in Bk. II, Archimago appears, meets Guyon, and with the aid of Duessa, incites his wrath against the Red Cross Knight. A meeting between the two champions immediately follows. They recognize each other; the R. C. K. wishes Guyon Godspeed in his adventure, and gracefully resigns the stage to the new comer. In the next book Guyon meets Britomart, and then retires. In Bk. IV the action is not so distinctly assigned to one group, but both Scudamour and Britomart appear at first to meet the new actors. Since Artegall is introduced in Bk. IV to complete the quest of Britomart, he simply continues his adventure in Bk. V, but in Bk. VI he courteously transfers the action to Calidore.

The above is the chief feature of the interlacing motif adopted by Spenser, although by breaking off episodes and renewing them at a later date he carries the interweaving scheme much further and creates a sort of specious unity. Much has been made

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by Morley,[1] as a unifying factor, regards "the place of intervention" by Prince Arthur in the eighth canto.[2] A careful examination reveals that this feature lacks the force of uniformity. Canto eight is by no means the only place of the hero's intervention, nor is it always the point of his most notable feats.

In arrangement a certain mechanical sense of unity is implied by the prologues[3] which precede each book, and in the quatrain of argument[4] which prefaces each canto. It has been shown, however, these last do not always conform to the poem in its final form. Another common feature which occurs too often to be disregarded, and is omitted too often for complete standardization, is the reflective moralization of the author contained in the first one, two, or three stanzas of each Canto. This structure is subject to two variations, one, the use of a classical introduction, when Titan, Phoebus, or Aurora ushers in the dawn, or when evening closes down with shadowy wings; the other, when action is carried over directly from the previous Canto. Besides these instances of standardized construction the

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1. English Writers: Vol. IX, p. 322.
2. Bk. I: Arthur is present in cantos viii and ix, although his active intervention occurs in C. viii, Bk. II: Arthur intervenes in C. viii, but is also present throughout Cs. ix, x, and xi, where he performs his greatest feat. Bk. III: He figures in Cantos iv and v. Bk. IV: He appears in C. vii, and intervenes though not in a marked degree in both viii and ix. Bk. V: He intervenes in C. viii, and is present throughout ix, x, and xi. In the two last he performs his most notable exploit in freeing Belgium Bk. VI: He intervenes in Cantos vi and vii.
3. This is a distinct borrowing from drama.
4. This scheme was used by Tasso: See Gerusalemme Liberata.

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resumption of a broken thread of narrative is marked by the personal direction of the poet when he suggests: too long have we left some wight in distress; or, now must I turn to some wandering knight.

It is needless to point out the futility of such tentative efforts in securing structural unity. It is only through the fact that their uniformity points to the conscious art of the poet that they are worthy of mention.

The genius of Spenser, however, is too great for the student to conclude rashly that the poet has put forth his strength to attain a certain end and failed. Hence, if Spenser has not attained structural unity he has not sought it as a primary end. He has either found an ideal of unity which is not realized in more structure, or else he has placed other theories of poetic art above formal unity. It is therefore by some other avenue of approach that we must attempt to learn his critical standard of epic structure.

Spenser has declared that he followed Homer and Vergil. It is from these poets that unity has come to be regarded as an epic virtue.[1] Although, as has been seen, the Faerie Queene does not in its execution preserve this primary law of unity, it has many other features common to the classic epic.

It is a serious poem of a certain magnitude,[2] which imitates

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1. Arist., Poetics, C. viii; , Minturno: Arte Poetica, Bk. I, pp. 11, 12.
2. Aristotle: Poetics, C. v, 4; C. iv, 2; C. xxiv, 3.

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the noble actions of good men.[1] It is grounded in history, and although the fate of a nation is not at stake, at least large national interests are involved.[2] It is concerned with religion.[3] It satisfies in the persons of its chief characters the classic demand for nobility of person. It introduces gods and heroes. It makes free use of the wonderful.[4] It plunges "in medias res". Last it meets the conditions imposed by Renaissance interpretation of the epic, in its allegoric form and moral didacticism.

It is to be observed that all of these principles are of an elemental nature, that is, they are the roots of a conception which require growth and development to render them significant. The open question is how much care Spenser gave to their development, or how far did he leave them to be overshadowed or choked out by other interests, which are represented by the essentially nonclassic elements. This question can be best discussed after a consideration of (or in conjunction with) the growth of essentially non-classic elements.

The most important of these elements is the fact that the Faerie Queene is an epic grounded upon character rather than upon action. This is the author's avowed intention, and it has been already fully discussed per se, but not in its effect upon structure. Although under the pressure of criticism Tasso de-

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1. Aristotle: Poetics: C. iv, 7.
2. In the proposed marriage of Elizabeth and Leicester (Bk. I, C. ix); in the subjugation of Ireland (Bk. V, the Adventure of Artegall, Lord Grey de Wilton); in the protection of Belgium, (Bk. V, Cantos x and xi, Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands); in the execution of Mary, Queen of Scotts, (Bk. V, C. ix, the Court of Mercilla).
3. Vide: Ars Poetica, Bk. I, ll. 29-30:
   "Ad sacra sint tantum versus, laudes ve Deorum
   Dicendas, ne relligio sine honore jaceret."
4. Aristotle: Poetics: C. xxiv, 8,9.

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vised a moral interpretation for his epic, and other men, forced to justify their delight in the daring and exuberance of Ariosto rendered the same service for him; although from the 6th century B. C. men had sought to so interpret Homer, and in turn Virgil, yet, it is a well known fact that neither Tasso, nor Ariosto, nor Homer, nor Virgil devoted his action to the primary end of character development.[1] Aristotle, who has told us distinctly that all parts of the epic are found in tragedy,[2] and "whoever, therefore, knows what is good or bad in Tragedy knows also about Epic poetry,"[3] has fully discussed, in his treatment of tragedy, this very point of character versus action in structure. He says: "action .....is not with a view to the representation of character: character comes in as subsidiary to actions." Therefore since true imitation (poetic) has as its end life and action rather than character, plot is the principle and soul of action, and character holds the second place, for there can be tragedy without character, there can be none without action.[4] Thus Spenser in his initial conception of an epic based upon character has reversed the standard of epic structure.[5] In its true relation char-

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1. Dante is not included here, because his poem, while avowedly philosophic and moral, has a spiritual rather than practical end. His exterior unity is that of simple sequence.
2. Minturno practically paraphrases and applies to the epic Aristotle's strictures for drama (L' Arte P--., Bk. I, p. 24). The epic is to describe "una materia, intera, e perfetta, d'atti illustri, e grani; la qual 'habbia conueniente grandezza. Percioche, come s' e' detto, la fauola e imitatione di faconda, la qual sia una, e compiuta, e di giusta lunghezza, ma per gli Episodii cresce il poema, e l'Epico spetialment."
3. Poetics, V, 5, xiii, 1.
4. Ibid, C. VI, 9.
5. Cf. Castelvetro: P. d'A., p. 106 and p. 545. It is an arrogant act "quando, postporto l'ufficio di narratore, che era suo proprio, imprendo l'ufficio di predicatore, e di corregitore di costumi fuori di tempo, nel qual errore non cade mai Homero, ma si' Virgilio alcuna volta."

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acter determines action; Spenser has chosen rather[1] to devote his action to the expression of character. The result is an individual end for each of the twelve actions.

This divergence of aim brings a clear statement of the second fundamental departure from the classic epic: there is no organized structure with beginning, middle and end; no corporate body with trunk, legs, and arms.[2]

It has been demonstrated that whatever df incipient unity underlay the general plan of Spenser, he, whether thro' carelessness, indifference, or neglect for other interests, ~~he~~ neither developed nor followed his own plan. It has been shown that uniformity of arrangement compassed no true unity. It has also been made clear that his fundamental aim is contrary to the nature of epic. However complete, from a philosophical standpoint, may be the unity of a perfect man, in whom are united all the virtues of ethic introspection, however perfectly this may correspond to the Renaissance ideal of the rounded man, the conception leaves the exterior unity of the poem in abeyance.

Before reaching so vital a conclusion as Spenser's abandonment of the classic standard of unity, it would be well to support such an argument by the analogy of his treatment of other epic motifs, which have already been described as elemental.

The high seriousness of the poem in its general scope is indis-

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1. Bryskett: Discourse: in whose actions and feates of armes and chivalry the operations of that virtue whereof he is the protector are to be expressed."

2. "As to that poetic imitation which is narrative in form and employs a single metre, the plot manifestly ought, as in a tragedy, to be constructed on dramatic principles. It should have for its subject a single action, whole and complete, with a beginning, a middle, and an end. It will thus resemble a living organism in all its unity, and produce the pleasure proper to it." (Aristotle Poetics xxiii, 1-2.)

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putable and praiseworthy, but Spenser has allowed himself the introduction of scenes and incidents which are unepic and sometimes even licentious in character. Among these are the dream and vision of the Red Cross Knight,[1] Sans Loy's attack upon Una,[2] the story of Thyamis,[3] the descriptions of the Bower of Bliss,[4] the story of Phaedria,[5] Castle Joyous and the scene between Malecasta and Britomart,[6] Florimell's encounter with the fisherman[7] and with Proteus, the Story of Malbecco, Paridell, and Hellenore,[8] the story of Braggadocio which is, as Spenser would say "rayl'd like a river" through the poem,[9] the story of the Squire of Dames,[10], and of Mirabella and her companions, Disdaine and Scorne.[11] These are the most flagrant breaches of epic dignity, but there are many other stories which fail in the required height and grandeur. Had Spenser introduced one, or two, or even three of these scenes, stories, and characters, it would have colored his epic no more than have Thersites,[12] Irus[13], and the misadventure of Mars and Aphrodite colored the poems of Homer. Yet these have always been cited as blots upon epic dignity. However, in the profuseness, and which Spenser has thus decorated his pages, he makes as signal a departure from classic standard as in the

1. Bk. I, i and ii.
2. Bk. I, ii.
3. Bk. I, iv.
4. Bk. II, v, 27-34, and xii, 63-79.
5. Bk. II, vi.
6. Bk. III, i.
7. Bk. III, vii.
8. Bk. III, ix and x.
9. Bks. II-V.
10. Bk. III, viii.
11. Bk. VI, viii.
12. Iliad.
13. Odyssey.

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matter of unity.

In his use of the wonderful there is the same reckless lavishness. Disregarding Aristotle's warning for the sparing use of this device he summons to his aid the agency of the pagan gods, Christian miracles, and magic.

In the matter of allegory, fixed by Renaissance criticism as a classic principle, there was again a same exaggeration which overstepped all bounds.

In contrast to this, Spenser shows that a very slight point of contact with theory will satisfy his critic conscience if he is not interested. He claims to have grounded his poem in history in the person of Arthur. To establish this claim Arthur must be viewed as the progenitor of the royal family of England and the ancestor of Elizabeth. This is perfectly sound in one phase of the allegory; but if we shift the point of view to the story itself, and to the political allegory, and consider Arthur as Leicester, the wooer of the Faerie Queene, Elizabeth, his aspect as progenitor has more than a touch of the ludicrous. He has posited a principle and left it without development. The same is true in regard to "nobility of person". He follows the principle in the case of his chief characters; then he introduces such a crowd of lower status that the nobility of the few is obscured. In the case of "in medias res", he has plunged in truly, but he has neglected to follow Horace further:

"Primo, ne medium, medio ne discrepit unum." Ars Poetica, l. 152.

One more infringement of fixed epic rule remains. Aristotle has told us "The poet should speak as little as possible in his own person."[1] Spenser is not content with one invocation and dedication,

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1. Poetics, C. 24, 7.

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but almost every book is preceded by his address to the public. At the beginning of each canto his own view guides the mind. His invocation, his personal tribute breaks into the midst of the canto. He personally directs change of action.[1] In the latter books there are autobiographical touches, and in Bk. VI he appears under his own pseudonym of Colin Clout.

Through this discussion of classic and non-classic elements we may conclude that Spenser handled critical theory with the same freedom with which we shall later see he handled his material. A wide knowledge of criticism led him as it had done Vida, Scaliger, Trissino, and even Minturno to believe the epic could be reduced to rule. He planned by rule,[2] including practically all accepted epic theories. He executed under the guidance of his own genius, making his own interpretation of theory, abandoning one principle to a mere intention, developing another in excess of reason, until criticism took, in his hands, a creative function.

There is no longer hesitancy in affirming that Spenser abandoned epic unity to a formal intention, and substituted an episodic structure with a chain unity. From the standpoint of a critic he selected epic variety as a theory having a higher and more complete function than structural unity. By this selection he opened avenues of expression for the development of those virtues which formed the basis of his whole plan. He also secured a flexible instrument for the conveyance of his moral, political, and social allegory. His

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2. Possibly he deliberately followed Aristotle's advice that a poet "whether he takes his story ready made or constructs it himself" should first sketch its general outline and then fill in the episodes and amplify in detail. Poetics, XVII, 3.

1 G. Daniello: Della Poetica: p. 46. It is well in a few words to explain your purpose, or point forward "a che uogli condurli certo."

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critical justification is to be found in a plausible interpretation of the theory of epic extent and variety, in the influence of contemporary example, and in the nature of his material.

Although the first proposition of Aristotle "is to inquire into the structure of the plot as requisite to a good poem"[1], and although he emphasizes again and again[2] structure and unity, saying directly of the epic, there should be "one action and that a whole, the structural union of the parts being such that, if any one of them is displaced or removed, the whole will be disjointed and disturbed, ("For a thing whose presence or absence makes no visible difference is not an organic part of a whole")[3], he nevertheless opens the way to wide results when he admits a difference of length and variety between the drama and the epic. Indeed some of his statements if considered independently could be made the bases of divergent theories. For example, he bitterly condemns the episodic plot yet states: "Epic poetry has, however, a great,--a special capacity for enlarging its dimensions."[4]

In no other instance does Aristotle's criticism need to be so carefully interpreted through his own theory of moderation, for his discussion of episode is scattered, and his dicta lifted even a little from their context could become contradictory.[5] His general theory may be summarized as follows: Since epic, as narration, has the advantage of presenting events simultaneously acted, it is capable

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1. Poetics: C I, 1.
2. Ibid., C. IV, 9, 5, 15; C. VII, 2, 6; C. VII, 1-4, VII, 3; VIII,1-4; XXIII, 1.
3. Ibid., C. VIII, 4. He adds here for emphasis: "For a thing whose presence or absence makes no visible difference is not an organic part of the whole."
4. Poetics: C. XX, IV, 2.
5. The episodic plot (C. IX, 10) must be distinguished from related episodes.

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of extension which "conduces to grandeur of effect, to diverting the mind of the hearer and relieving the story with varying episodes," hence epic structure "is one with a multiplicity of plots." But-- "In the Epic poem each part assumes its proper magnitude." Nevertheless the art of drama since it attains its effect within narrower limits is more pleasurable in its concentrated effect[1] than one which is "more diluted". The epic is between two extremes: with strict unity it may appear truncated; too long "it must seem weak and watery". His conclusion is set apart for emphasis: "Such length implies some loss of unity."[1]

Although the necessity of summarizing has cost the statements much of their terse decision, the contrast between this view, and the frequently emphasized law of unity and single action previously cited, is enough to give rise to a theory which would weigh with less even balance the advantages of unity and variety. And the theory grows with an ever increasing emphasis upon freedom.

Horace, the practical poet, and next in order of critical influence, is not to be led astray by pleasant variety. He holds:

"Denique sit quod vis simplex dumtaxat et unum"[2]

but sees the danger of excess on either hand:

"Decipimur specie recti. Brevis esse labor,
Obscurus fio; .....
Qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
Delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum. 3
In vitium ducit culpae fuga, si caret arte."

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1. Poetics: C. XXVI, 5. It is from this statement that Castelvetro derives his theory, a reductio ad absurdum, that an epic which narrates the single action of one person, is, through the difficulty overcome an example of the highest art. P. d'A., p. 179.
2. Ars Poetica: l. 25.
3. Ibid, ll. 25-30.

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To read Vida as a whole is to read an expanded Horace. He consumes a hundred lines[1] in the discussion of unity and variety, but his interest is centered upon the reader rather than art. He makes so charming the effect upon the reader of variety,[2] and the stimulus of suspense, that a poet would be tempted to neglect his warning,--

> "Nec te fors inopina regat, casusque labentem
> Omnia consiliis provisa, animoque volenti
> Certus age, ac semper nutu rationis eant res."
> Ars Poetica; Bk. II, ll. 191-3.

and choose rather to remember,--

> "....ut varium sit opus (namque inde voluptas
> Grata venit) rebus non usque haerebis in iisdem."

Finally Vida makes a frank comparison of the two theories, which both formulates and interprets the Renaissance attitude. He commends to the poet as better, a compact, well organized structure, but recognizes as legitimate the larger design and elaborates the latter with an interest, which betrays more than words his true preference.

Succeeding criticism follows the same line. Technically close unity of structure is the pivotal centre of art; practically more space and elaboration of method, is given to variety and the concomitant invention and imitation. This emphasis varies with the individual. There is an occasional reversion to stricter Aristotelian theory, but the tendency is toward an ever broadening standard of epic variety. In this tendency criticism is exercising her great function, the reconciliation of artistic form with popular taste and material.

Segni in his edition of the Poetics advances a step. He defines unity as existing, not as supposed by some, in the treatment

1. Art of Poetry: Bk. II, ll. 60-165.

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of one thing, but rather of many things different in kind, from which there results a single end. This theory is entirely applicable to the many actions of one man if from these results unity. The episodes or digressions are exterior to the main action, but must be in some way related.[1]

Muzio knows and uses both Aristotle and Horace. He gives the conventional requirements for unity which he says should, from word to word, be joined as close as is a metal chain.[2] He uses the Aristotelian simile of color without form, and represents it as pleasing to the crowd but rejected by Titian.[3] He requires the beginning in the middle.[4] He emphasizes order and declares a thing beautiful in itself becomes unpleasing if not well placed.[5] But he

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1. Segni. La Poetice d' Aristotile, pp. 298, 301.
2. Muzio: Dell' Arte Poetica: Bk. I, p. 68.
3. Ibid., Bk. I.
4. Ibid., Bk. II, p. 82.
5. Ibid., Bk. II, p. 82.

"Che cosa per se bella non ben posta
Non al suo luogo posta, si fa sozza.
Tu tralasciando il tuo primiero filo
Pensa d'ordire il tuo nono lauro
Con modo tal ch'altrui possa parere
Che senza quel l'opra imperfetta fora."

Note 2 continued

The trans. of Pitt (Ed. A. S. Cook) so aptly interprets this passage, that it has been substituted for the original:

"Let others labor on a vast design,
A less, but polished with due care, be thine;
To change its structure be your last delight;
Thus spend the day and exercise the night,
Incessant in your toil. But if you choose
A larger field and subject for your Muse,
If scanty limits should the theme confine,
Learn with just art to lengthen the design
Beyond its native bounds. The roving mind
A thousand methods to this end may find;
unnumbered fictions may with truths be joined;
Nature supplies a fund of matter still;
Then cull the rich variety at will."

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says:

> "Chi stringer uuol la liberta natia
> De' gran suggetti in circoscritto giro,
> S'io non m'inganno, e fuor del buon camino."
>
> Bk. II, p. 82.

He bids the poet prepare the way[1] for digressions, for:

> "Sapei anchor tu che leggi, che 'l poema
> Ch' al giouamento, & al piacere intende
> Non per altro sentier piu prontamente
> Al diletto i nostri animi conduce,[2]
> Che col ben uariar la sua pittura."

He cites for example a number of episodes or variants borrowed from Virgil, and urges that for true variety, both learning and experience of human affairs are necessary.

As a critic, Muzio is often named by his Italian contemporaries. He deserves to be known better, for, although in extent and formality his Arte is but a slight thing as compared with the voluminous work of Scaliger, Trissino, and Minturno, it has a spontaneity and independence which brings it close to the literature of his day. His final summing up of the Epic might well have been the true inspiration and guide of Spenser. And of rules he says they do not suffice for poetic law,

> Bond will I not give from my school.
> Lest I be found, at one time or another,
> To contravene the lesser rule
> That I may subject be unto the greater.

In all his voluminous rules Scaliger adds nothing new. He endorses complexity, saying Aristotle would ridicule those who considered a story a single thing, and not rather made up of "multae partes, & multa ἐπεισοδία".[3] He emphasizes order and motivation[4] as securing unity, and says: "Argumentum ergo brevissimum accipiendum

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1. Muzio: Dell' Arte Poetica: Bk. III, p. 86.
2. Ibid., Bk. II, p. 82.
3. Scaliger: Poetices: Bk. I, V, p. 11.
4. Ibid., Bk. III, p. 144, 145, Bk. III, C. viii, p. 88.

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est: idque maxime varium multiplexque faciendum... Quia enim non in laetitia solo iucunditas sita est, sed ex quacunque disciplinae adeptione [fitness] capi potest."[1]

Even Trissino, the precisian, with his ingrained Aristotelianism, and the soulless formality of his model epic, recurs more than once to the advantage of episode.[2] He admits that episode besides making the poem "più magnifico, e'utile a far variamente mutare gli animi de gli auditori, et a faroi introdurre dissimili episodi .....". He paraphrases Aristotle but gives no suggestion as to how the fusion of the admitted many into the indispensable one may be accomplished.

Minturno distinctly favors variety and discusses the episode at length. As Aristotle for Homer, so he for Virgil makes a brief outline and declares the rest is episode.[3] The story is the principal part of poetry, the presentation of manners and character is second. All epics have grandeur and the quality of extension; through these they afford delight.[4] He states distinctly that both Homer and Virgil introduce much that does not properly belong to the story,[5] and contends that when a great variety of things are brought together it may not be practical to subordinate all to one end. Furthermore he does not seek to join the episode indissolubly to the body of the theme.[6] He says more than once the episodes are

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1. Scaliger: Poet~~ices: Bk.~~ III, pp. 145, 147.
2. De Sa Poetica: pp. 97, 113, 114.
3. L' Arte Poetica: Bk. I, p.14. Cf. pp. 12, 13.
4. Ibid, Bk. I, p. 24, "Laonde con questa prerogativa l'Heroico poema ha' in se molta magnificenza, eper la varietate delle cose di fuori addutte rileua souente con mirabil diletto l'animo dell ' auditore, e rinfrensia in lui l'attentione, non che fugge la noia, che generare la lunghezza dell' opera potrebbe."
~~Sa Poetica, pp. 27, 113, xiii.~~
Ibid. 5. L' Arte Poetica: pp. 12-13.
Ibid, Bk. I, p. 13-16.

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from without and may be separated without injury to the whole, save that having been added for ornament, if removed, they take away some of the richness and beauty of the poem. In his advocacy of freedom he even in the De Poeta broaches the subject of mixed characters: "Mixtae vero sunt in quibus dissimiles personae effinguntur, ut Odyssea, in qua non modo tum probos, tum improbos homines, virum etiam & principes uiros & pastores Homerus agentes facit."[1]

It is needless to prolong the slow citation. With Guarini and Tasso the tide of criticism in favor[2] of variety is almost at the flood. The criticism of Guarini is controversial and chiefly applicable to the mixed composition of tragi-comedy, but he does not hesitate to turn to epic for illustration and confirmation of his arguments.[2] He reviews Plato, Aristotle, and Homer, not in blind acceptance of traditional interpretation, but with an open-minded determination to analyze and follow to conclusion both theory and practice.[3] He finds in all authority for greater freedom both in composition and material. He condemns the careless use of episode as in danger of becoming insipid and wearisome, the worst vice in art; but declares episode well employed embraces all that is most beautiful and delightful in poesy.[4] He says, "the unity of poetry is not to

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1. De Poeta: Bk. II, pp. 125, 136. He points out episodes in Homer which are entirely extraneous.
2. Opere: V. 3, p. 175.
3. Opere; V. 3. pp. 109, 120, 340, 341, 347-48.
4. Ibid, pp. 355-6. "Perche' gli Episodi son necessarj in tutte le favole, egli adeo' pensando di fargli essenziali, non di parole o persone fuori, dell' argomento, ma di opero, e di soggetto. Argomentando cosi, e bene che essendo collocato il principale uficio del poeta, e diletto della poesia, nel rappresentare i fatti, e l'operazioni degli uomini, niuno episodio si poteva giugnere alla Commedia che fosse ne' piu' dilettevole, ne' piu' artificioso di quello, che contenesse non parole sole, ma fatti, conducendolo, e innestandolo con tant' arte, e con guidicio tanto isquisito, che non contaminasse, o interrompesse l' unita del soggetto, e quello che tutto importa, e che non puo' si bene venir dagli altri Episodi, annodasse maggiormente la favola, e in conseguenza la rendesse molto piu' bella, e molto piu' dilettevole.

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be measured with the lead-plummet of philosophy. (I speak of the Epic, becayse I think in drama the rules are more strict)"-- but in regard to particulars "se l' Ariosto ha peccato, ha peccato con la scorta di colui, che divino vien chiamoto da tutti--Homer."[1]

Tasso both in his Dell' Arte Poetica, and in his Del Poema Eroico takes as his chief theme epic variety which is "cosi piacevole e cosi desiderata da coloro e' hanno avvezzi gli orecchi a poeti moderni."[2] To Tasso the epic is a world in which the poet plays the part of God.[3] He finds it an easy thing to secure variety in many separate actions, but to secure the same variety in a single action "hoc opus, hic labor est",[4] and it reouires the highest art and genius. This quality is inherent in the poet, and may belong to the unlearned as well as the learned. Poetry nevertheless, becomes more delightful through "the order and unity of its parts, and not only will it be more clear and distinct, but it will carry much more of novelty and marvel. This fact is true of all poems and also "in quelli che trattano l' armi e gli amori degli eroi e de' cavallieri errantf" which are now called heroic poems.[5]

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1. Opere, V. 3, p. 66.
2. Del Poema Eroico: p. 162.
3. Tasso, T--. Dell' Arte P--. Epic poem a World, p. 44. Here poet plays part of God. "Quasi in un piccolo mondo, qui si leggano ordinanze d' eserciti, qui battaglie terrestri e navali, qui espugnazioni di citta', scaramucce (skirmish) e duelli, qui giostre, qui descrizioni di fame e di site, qui tempeste, qui incendii, qui prodigii; la si trovino concilii celesti ed infernali, la si veggiano sedizioni, la discordie, la errori, la venture, la incanti, la opere di crudeta' di audacia, di cortesia, di generosita'; la avvenimenti d' amore, or felici or infelici, or lieti or compassionevoli; ma che nondimeno uno sia il poema, che tanta varieta' di materie contegna, una la forma e la favola sua, e che tutte queste cose siano di maniera composte, che l'una da l' altra o necessariamenti o verisimilmente dependa; si che una sola parte o tolta via o mutata di sito, il tutto ruini.
4. Cf. Castelvetro.
5. Dell' Arte P--., p. 45.

Note 4 cont. Cf. Arist., Poetics, XVIII, 3. The poet should endeavor if possible to combine all poetic elements.

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This concluding sentence of Tasso brings us back to the original subject of discussion, the heroic poem which treats of the arms and loves of heroes and errant knights,[1] and of which Sidney has affirmed "that even to the heroical Cupid hath ambitiously climbed."[2]

As a digression the above summary has been long and tiresome; as a review the necessary brevity conveys no adequate impression of the tenacity with which early theories are held and repeated until they become mere formulae. Nothing is abandoned but under exterior pressure something is added, and the new modifies or supersedes the old. Popular literature and popular taste are insistent guests at the threshold of learning. Critics must adjust themselves. Searching their own records they find excuse for a less rigid application of their rules, or else recognize a new genre unknown to classic authorities.

No reference has been made to English criticism because while variety and invention are touched upon as desirable literary qualities, there is no formal discussion of epic structure as such. Chapman eulogizes Homer on more general grounds. Even Sidney dismisses the structure of poetry with a few slight words,[3] devoting his attention rather to the unities of the drama. French and Spanish criticism have likewise been ignored thus far as having little influence

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1. Cf. Ariosto: "Le donne, l' cauallier, l'arme, gli amori,
Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese io canto."
~~2. Dell' Arte P--, p. 45.~~
2. Defence of Poesy, p. 37.
3. Def. of Poesy: "Our matter is quodlibet indeed, though wrongly performing Ovid's verse,
Quisquid conabar dicere, versus erat;
never marshalling it into any assured rank, that almost the readers cannot tell where to find themselves." He cites Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida, the Mirror of Magistrates, Surrey's lyrics and the Shepherd's Calendar.-- "Besides these, I do not remember to have seen but few (to speak boldly) printed, that have poetical sinews in them. For proof whereof, let but most of the verses be put in prose, and then ask the meaning, and it will be found that one verse did but

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upon Spenser in this matter.

(However,) Before reaching a conclusion as to the influence of the current theory of the epic upon Spenser, the more radical views of three men must be considered. These men voice the most advanced and final views of the age.

Castelvetro is reactionary. In his edition of Aristotle's Poetics, he sets out to make an independent interpretation of the master. There is little in common between his theories and the practice of Spenser. But he is invaluable for our purpose in indicating the independence of view which may be based upon established authority He proclaims: "Il fine della poetica riguarda il diletto simplice, e la ricreatione degl' ascoltanti."[1] This theory is reëchoed from every angle.[2] He interprets Aristotle as his authority.[3] Art is not only relieved of all didactic responsibility, and a distinction made between poetry on the one side and political, moral, and natural philosophy on the other,[4] but poetic art is further relieved from its own law, and what accomplishes the end is legitimized.[5]

Castelvetro is justly celebrated as the formulator of the three unities.[6] Here again he bases his conclusions on the suggestions of Aristotle. Beyond the drama he has little interest in the structure of poetry, asserting boldly, "in the construction of a plot, we

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1. P. d' A., p. 592.
2. Ibid, p. 275, pp. 29, 30.
3. Ibid, p. 505, 76.
4. Ibid, p. 592, p. 30.
5. Ibid, p. 591. [the poet] [as a poet] "Ultimamente non gli è attribuito quello, che si commette nella stessa arte di poesia non per accidente, quando non si distrugge il fine della poesia, ma si stabilisce." Cf. Gio. Bruno: [Eroici]

Note 4 continued beget another, without ordering at the first what should be at the last; which becomes a confused mass of words, with a tinkling sound of rime, barely accompanied by reason."

6 Cf. Sarrazin: C.

(6 cont.) Gli Er. Fur., pp. 14, 15: "Cioè: a chi dunque servono le regole d'Aristotele?" Sarr. "A chi non polisce, come Homero, Esiodo, Orfeo et altri, poetare

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ought to have no regard for the beginning, middle, or end of the action, upon which the plot is based"--we should only "diligentemente considerare, se e' atta ad operare quello, che noi cerchiamo, cio' e', diletto negli auditori per narratione di caso fortunoso possibile ad avenire e non mai avenute."[1] He places practically no limits upon the action of the epic.[2] The more diverse the incidents, the greater is the pleasure derived therefrom.[3] Poetry has the same freedom in narration as history; it may narrate many actions of a single person, or of a whole race, and indeed it is not to be blamed if it narrate the many actions of many persons or of many races.[4] Besides this freedom Castelvetro has placed a curious limitation. He interprets unity in terms of skilled art. It is the beauty of the intaglio. The smaller the surface, the harder the stone, the greater is the art and consequent value. The "difficulty overcome" is for him the essence of art,[5] and therefore "la favola dell 'epopea

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1. P. d' A., p. 158.
2. Ibid, p. 109, "Lo spatio dell' attione dell' epopea non e' determinata, perciocche' l' epopea, narrando con parole sole, puo' raccontare una attione avenuta in molti anni et in diversi luoghi senza sconvenevolezza niuna, presentando la parole allo' ntelletto nostro le cose distanti di luogo e di tempo., cf. p. 179.
3. Ibid, p. 104 "---non ha dubbio, che non si tragga maggiore diletto ascoltandi una favola contenente piu' e diverse attioni, che quella, che ne contiene una sola."
4. Ibid, p. 178. "Perche' non ha dubbio niuno che se nell' historia si narra sotto un raccontamento piu' attioni, d'una persona sola, nella poesia si potra sotto una favola narrare senza biasimo piu' attioni d'una persona sola. Si come parimente nella poesia senza biasimo si potra narrare una attione sola d'una gente, perciocche' l'historia fa cio' con molta lode. E non solamente pure nella poesia si potra narrare, una attione d'una gente, ma anchora piu' attioni d'una gente. E si lei si concedera' la narratione di molte attioni di molte persone, o di molte genti, non pero' veggo che biasimo alcuno le debba sequira'."
5. P. d. A., p. 143.

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dee contenere una attione d' una persona non per necessita, ma per dimostratione dell' eccellenza del poeta."[1]

This seeming inconsistency must be interpreted not as representing Castelvetro's true theory, but as a concession to accepted canons of art, and as a link between the strictures placed upon drama, and the liberty conceded to epic. An epic so limited would be a literary exercise, of the highest artistic technique, but it would not take the place of that grand, free epic born in the genius of the poet, destined for the delight of the people,[2] unshackled by learning, didacticism, and rule.

Bruno[3] was another apostle of freedom. His attack is chiefly upon critics, who, unable to write themselves, criticise the very poets from whom they draw their rules, and think in their arrogance, to be able to prescribe rules whereby poetry can be created. He states clearly that rules are the result and not the cause of true poetry. They are for the aid of those "who are more suited to imitation than invention", and who wish to become poets "not by their own muse, but by aping the muse of another", or else for one who hav-

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1. P. d. A., p. 179; cf. p. 504.
2. "moltitudine rozza."
3. His Gli Eroici Furori, was dedicated to Sidney and was published in Paris in 1585, immediately after he left England. There is small doubt that his work was known to Spenser.

4 His specific accusations show with what practical insight he was attacking the criticism that was dominating Europe. He says (Gli. Er. Fu., p.315) "There are certain pedants of our time who exclude from the number of poets, some, who, either in their use of words and metaphors, or in their arrangements of books and cantos, do not conform to the practice of Homer and Vergil. Others are condemned for various reasons: they do not observe the custom of making invocations; they interweave one story or fable with another; they close their cantos with an epilogue summarizing what has been said, or giving a forecast of what is to be said; or in a thousand ways they infringe some rule or principle. Whence it appears that the critics conclude if they should take the notion, they would be the true poets and attain the goal toward which others strive. But in fact they are not other.

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ing no muse of his own "volesse far a l'amore con quella d'Omero." This is a keen and well merited attack upon the prescriptive criticism of the age.[1] He bids us, "conclude well, that poesy is not born of rules, save by the merest accident, but the rules are derived from poesy; and indeed so many as are the classes and kinds of rules, just so many are the classes and kinds of true poets."; for these poets "potrebbero essere con altro vene, arti, e furori, equali, simili e maggiori di diversi geni." And "there are and can be just so many sorts of poets as there are and can be kinds of human sentiment and invention and these may attain garlands of every kind of species of plant."[2]

Vauquelin de la Fresnaye ~~in his~~ (L' Art Poetique[3]) in his discussion of the epic makes a suggestion curiously applicable to the Faerie Queene. He advocates the possibilities of a Christian epic; then adds: "Si les Grecs, comme vous, Chrestiens eussent escrit. Ils eussent les hauts faits chanté de Jesus Christ"[4]--- Then follow suggestions of Biblical events. Then he says:

"Au lieu d'une Andromede au rocher attachee,
Et d'un Perse qui l'a de ses fers relachee,

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*1. Note 4 on p. 33 - Belongs here

Note 4 continued than worms, who do not know how to do anything well, (make anything good), but were born solely to gnaw, to spoil, and besmirch the studies and labors of others. And not being able to render themselves famous thro' their own virtue and genius, seek to put themselves in front, either by right or by wrong thro' the defects or errors of others.

2. Gli Eroici Furori, pp. 314-316.
3. This work was begun in 1574, at the request of Henry III. It was not published until 1605. Even the excellent edition of Pellissier gives no definite information as to private circulation.
4. Vauquelin: L'Art Poetique: Bk. III, Subjects of Epic, l. 845.

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Vn Saint George venir, bien armé, bien monté
La lance à son arrest, l'espee à son costé
Assaillir le Dragon, qui venoit effroyable
Goulument devorer la Pucelle agreable,
Que pour le bien commun on venoit d'amener?
O belle Catastrophe! on la voit retourner
Saune avec tout le peuple! Et quand moins on y pense
Le Diable estré vaincu de la simple innocence!" 1

It is unsafe to hazard a guess as to whether these lines were based on knowledge of Spenser's work, or whether they make a chance suggestion drawn from a common stock of ideas. It is a matter of little moment, for the centre of interest lies not in the lines, but in the inclusive view of the epic formulated by Vauquelin. Nowhere else is there so minute a citation of the multifarious details proper to an epic, as in his work.[2] He tells us the epic is like fields

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1. Vauquelin: L'Art Poetique: Bk. III, Subjects of Epic, ll. 891.
2. Ibid, ll. 457 sq.
   En l'ouvrage Heroique ainsi chacun se plaist,
   Mesme y trouve dequoy son esprit il repaist:
   L'vn y tondra la fleur seulement de l'Histoire,
   Et l'autre a la beauté du langage prend gloire:
   Vn autre aux riches mots des propoz figurez,
   Aux enrichissemens qui sont elabourez:
   Vn autre aux fictions aux contes delectables
   Qui semblent plus au vray qu'ils ne sont veritables:
   Bref tons y vont cherchant, comme sont leurs humeurs,
   Des raisons, des discours, pour y former leurs moeurs.
   Vn autre plus sublim a' trauers le nuage
   Des sentiers obscuris, aduise le passage
   Qui conduit les humains à leur bien-heureté
   Tenant autant qu'on peut l'esprit en seureté.
   cf. Horace, Epistles I, II.
   p. 24, ll. 471 sq.
   C'est vn tableau du monde, vn miroir qui raporte
   Les gestes des mortels en differente sorte.
   On y void peint au vray le gendarme vaillant,
   Le sage capitaine vne ville assaillant,
   Les conseils d'vn vieil homme, escarmouches, batailles,
   Les ruses qu'on pratique au siege des murailles,
   Les joustes, les tournois, les festins et les ieux,
   Qu' vne grand 'Rogue fait au Prince courageuse,
   Que la mer a ietté par un piteux naufrage,
   Apres mille dangers à bord à son riuage.
   On y void les combats les harengues des chefs,
   L'heur apres le malheur, et les tristes méchefs
   Qui tallonnent les Roys: les erreurs, les tempestes
   Qui des Troyens errants, pendent dessus les testes

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of fertile grass, with woods, and brooks, meadows, valleys, mountains, vines, fruit-trees, and here comes a prince, who builds castles and divides it all. There are stags, bees, flowers, oxen, sheep All are satisfied, for each finds a reflection of his own interest.

> "It is a picture of the world, a mirror which reports
> The deeds of mortals, all in different sort."
> ll. 471-472
>
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>
> "For all poesy it contains within itself
> Whether it be tragedy, or comedy or some else."
> ll. 503-4.

This statement is not enough, and he adds every detail of life, love, government, war, and religion. It is with this wide view of the epic that is found the conclusion of our argument, namely, that in the structure of the Faerie Queene Spenser consciously followed

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Note 2 continued

Les sectes, les discords, les points religieux,
Qui brouillent les humains entre eux litigieux:
Les astres on y void et la terre descrite,
L'ocean merueilleux quand aquilon l'irrite:
Les amours, les duels, les superbes dédains,
Ou l' ambition mist les deux frere Thebains:
Les enfers tenebreuse, les secrettes magies
Les augures par qui les citez sont regies;
Les fleuues serpentants, bruyants en leurs canaux;
Les cercles de la lune, ou sont les gros iournaux
Des choses d'ici bas, prieres, sacrifices
Et des Empires quands les loix et les polices.
On y void discourir le plus souvent les Dieux.
Vn Terpandre chanter vn chant melodieux
A l'example d'Orphee: et plus d'vne Medee
Accorder la toyson par Jason demandee:
On y void le dèpit ou poussa Cupidon
La fille de Dicaee et la poure Didon
* * * * * * * * * *

(There are references to the epics of Homer, Virgil, Apollonius, Statius, Ronsard.)

ll 501 ff. Car toute Poesie il contient en soymème
Soit tragique ou Comique, on soit Autre Poeme.
Heureuse celuy que Dieu d'esprit voudra remplir,
Pour vn si grand ouvrage en francois accomplir!
En vers de dix ou douze aprés il le faut mettre:
Ces vers la nous prenons pour le graue Hexametre.

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a critical theory that placed a wide variety above unity.

We have seen how in the mean of Aristotle lay the germs of a broader theory. We have seen how under pressure of popular taste this has developed step by step, never abandoning formal theory, but adding new privileges until in Castelvetro stand side by side two epic forms, the one of extreme classic rigidity, the other of absolute aesthetic freedom. In Bruno we find the declaration that the true poet is the creator of law, and is held by no bonds; and in Vauquelin we have seen that the range of heaven, earth, and hell lies within epic bounds. Hence, we conclude that Spenser formulated his plan in strict accordance with formal critical theory, and then in the addition of episode upon episode he followed the theory which conferred freedom upon the poet and found in variety and episode the true life, and charm of the epic.

But the justification of Spenser's method is not limited to mere theory. He followed the example of those who were held the greatest poets of the world, and it was his ambition to over-go these. It has already been shown how the episodes of Homer and Virgil formed support for the arguments in favor of variety. In Dante's great epic the unity is one of strict sequence, and therefore of minor importance. But the variety and episode introduced on the long journey, and especially the inclusion of contemporary political characters and events, although these were veiled by no allegory, must have exercised an influence upon Spenser.

To the influence of example must be added the authority of Tasso as a voluminous and well known critic. Here we find a double appeal which needs no further emphasis,--inspiration for the imagination of the poet, and authority for the critic.

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This study is not a discussion of sources; were it so a volume could be filled with the scenes, incidents, characters, and lines borrowed by Spenser from the Gerusalemme Liberata, and from the Orlando Furioso. Could all these be removed and the gorgeous tapestry of the Faerie Queene be held up to view, it would appear as a fabric riddled by shot. The point at issue, however, is that of influence on conception and structure.

Attention has been called to Spenser's attempt to secure an exterior unity through uniform arrangement: the argument at the head of each canto; the moralization and prophecy which the poet speaks in person at the beginning of the canto; the shift of scene and plot, deliberately made and noted; the passage at the end of the canto in which the poet points forward and promises what he will tell. These features all exist in both the Gerusalemme Liberata, and the Orlando. But this is a mere external matter; the true influence is a far more subtle thing.

In the poem of Tasso is embodied the high conception of a Christian epic clothed in romance. Here noble knights and warrior women mingle with creatures of the half-world of magic. Christian miracle and the necromancer's art alike add the charm of the wonderful. Sensual delight, an alluring figure, never far distant from Renaissance consciousness, is contrasted with sage wisdom and grave temperance. Love pours forth his lyric plaints. These features are blended in all the charm of graceful variety, and it is under this guise they appeal to Spenser and are taken over by him to swell the charm and variety of his own romance.

The influence of Ariosto is more direct and robust. He is, as we have seen, the specific object of Spenser's rivalry. With his wealth of story, with his exuberant fertility, of imagination, and

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and with this a spontaneity which makes each episode a new creation, Ariosto had taken Europe by storm. The learned were fascinated by the freshness and variety. The people were flattered to find the stories they loved so well clothed anew in a cultured form. Both classes were puzzled and held at bay by the satiric tone. What did the poet mean? Was he laughing with them or at them? The satire only added a piquant flavor. Subservient criticism explained a too frank sensuousness as a moral warning. All roads lead to Rome. All things added to the glory of Ariosto. He had achieved the great goal of the Renaissance, success, and a fame which promised to be eternal. The young English poet with the world yet to win sought to over-go him. The fascination was that of virile action to the contemplative mind. The theory was that of variety and episode in ever increasing measure.

The unity of Ariosto was the unity of the romance. He linked incident with incident, episode with episode, in an endless chain. The threads of the various stories were held in a strong and skillful hand, and he wove the strands together and loosed them at will. Spenser saw the plan and sought to follow it.[1]

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1. An observation by Sir John Harrington is pertinent here as voicing the defence of romance structure. He says there are two "reproofs" of Ariosto, which he rather interprets as "two peculiar praises of this writer above all that wrate before him in this kind. One, that he breaks off narrations verie abruptly, so as indeed a loose vnattentive reader will hardly carrie away any part of the storie: but this doubtlesse is a point of great art, to draw a man with a continuall thirst to reade out the whole worke, and toward the end of the booke to close vp the diuerse matters briefly and clenly." The second "reproof" is that the poet speaks in person. This is defended as a direct medium of moral instruction. Of the first Harrington says succinctly it is sufficient to say "Ariosto doth it". But he adds shrewdly, "If Sir Philip Sidney had counted this a fault he would not have done so himselfe in his Arcadia."
[Pref. Trans. of Or. Fu. (1591) Smith's Eliz. Crit. Ess., V. II., p. 217.]

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Not by way of Tasso and Ariosto alone did the structure of the romance come to Spenser.[1] There is a third channel, and this perhaps

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1. In Sidney's Arcadia is also to be found the problem of romance structure. In the Arcadia according to his own theory, Sidney wrote a poem. [Defence of Poesy: p. 11.] The structure of this on general grounds is comparable to the Faerie Queene. Did he share Spenser's love of the old English romances? His condemnation of Amadis de Gaule carries as much praise as blame. [Ibid. p. 24:] "Truly, I have known men, that even with reading Amadis de Gaule, which, God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect poesy, have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesy, liberality, and especially courage." His praise of the ballad is most sincere, and his question of what Percy and Douglas might become "trimmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar" is suggestive. [Ibid. p. 29.]

W. L. in his "commendatory verses" tells us that [Verses prefixed to F. Q.]:

"But Sidney heard him sing and knew his voice."
St. 2, l. 6.

"So Spencer was by Sidney's speaches won
To blaze her Elizabeth's fame, not fearing future harms."
St. 3, ll. 3-4.

"What though his taske exceed a humaine witt?
He is excus'd, sith Sidney thought it fitt."
St. 5, ll. 56.

Is this suggestion limited to the praise of Elizabeth? Does it extend to the philophic concept? There is small doubt that both Sidney and Spenser felt the influence of Giordano Bruno. To Sidney heroic poetry centres in its heroes. He personifies epic: "who maketh magnaiminity and justice shine through all misty fearfulness and foggy desires." Through the epic's beautiful presentation of virtue men are ravished by love of her, and are inspired to worthy thought and action. Or does the suggestion extend to the use of the romances as a medium for his moral teaching? This is speculation upon grounds insufficient for conclusion. But parallelism between Sidney and Spenser, in their ideas of the moral function of the epic, and in the use of romance structure has deserved mention.

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the deepest, his own knowledge of the Romances.

He chose romance for his medium as best affording the variety he sought. In his choice he was on firm critical ground, supported both by the French and the Italian schools. But the discussion of his use of romance is reserved for another time. It suffices to say not only Malory and Geoffrey of Monmouth were laid under contribution, but the Faerie Queene shows threads drawn from almost all the well known romances that have come down to us. And of these too E. K. might well have said, "whose foting this author every where followeth, yet so as few, but they be wel sented, can trace him out." The intimacy of Spenser's use of romance implies the absolute assimilation of the material. No man could be so steeped in the matter of a subject without absorbing its form. Spenser is no exception. He thought in terms of allegory and romance.

The structure of the Faerie Queene has been discussed from the standpoint of Spenser's plan and actual execution. It has been shown that his plans held the framework of a structural unity, but that the execution did not fulfill the promise. Spenser's genius precludes a failure through lack of art. Three influences undermined classic unity. The first was a critical theory which under pressure of popular taste, placed a standard of variety above closer unity. The second was the influence of men who had attained fame through following this principle of variety. The third was the choice, under the double influence of theory and example, of romance as a medium of expression--romance which in its very nature demands love and adventure in never ending succession and variety.

It is no paradox to claim that Spenser was guided by critical theory when he embraced the standard which gave freedom to the imagination and invention of the poet, for it has been clearly shown

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that such a standard had taken its place beside that of rigid classicism. The influence of other epics as acknowledged by Spenser, and demonstrated in his work, admits no rebuttal. The influence of romance is equally indisputable. Hence it may be concluded that while Spenser grounded his poem on the basis of organic unity, under pressure of strong influences he developed it according to the looser structure of romance.

Another phase of the question remains. As compared with other epics cited, even as compared with the metrical romances, the Faerie Queene has less of structural unity. In the six books left us, which constitute one-half of the first great work projected, there is no sense of completion. There is even no forward movement.

It has been demonstrated that the poet's chief aim was the development of a system of ethic philosophy. The development of such a system in the person of one man consists in centralization. But the medium chosen was romance, and the development of romance consists in extension. Here was a paradox.

In other epics and romance, free from the superstructure of moral allegory, there is a unity of time sequence, which, however endlessly varied the episodes, must move toward an end. For the romance and for the political allegory of Spenser's poem was designed a grand culmination in Arthur's discovery of the Faerie Queene and in Leicester's marriage with Elizabeth. Spenser's muse would have reveled in such a climax. His happiest vein would have found expression in the grand pageantry of a royal wedding, and in the exalted sensuality and prophecy of a royal epithalamium. But while the poem was yet young, the barrenness of Leicester's ambitions became known. His death destroyed the inner meaning of the allegory.

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There remained in the central theme, but the colder and less colorful element of Platonic love. Deprived of its grand objective action lagged. The significance of the poem was thrown on an eventual philosophic unity. In consequence each virtue assumed a greater importance. The pageant of each hero became an individual romance with a structure of its own enlarged with every device of epic variety. It is this division into units which has cost the Faerie Queene the structural unity of a whole, and has deprived it of the forward movement which is the law of romance.

What unifying forces Spenser might have created in the next six books must remain a matter for speculation.

It is, however, only fair to Spenser to state that he has attained the unity of smooth weaving. Were the Duessa, Britomart, Amoret, and Florimel stories removed, five books would be rent in fragments. Not once through the long poem does the reader feel a rough joining. The episode may be introduced for a definite purpose, but it falls in its place with perfect art. It is a most natural thing that we should come to the Cave of Care, that we should seek shelter at the House of Pride, or wisdom at the House of Holinesse.

But in this care for detail the creator is lost in the critic. Content with the lesser theory, let episode beget episode, Spenser has lost sight of the larger structure and has left us not a stately work of epic proportions, but a storehouse of jewels in an epic romance.

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CHAPTER V.

Spenser's Use of Literary Genres. (According to source.)

Conception of epic as miniature world.- Use of varied genres.- Romance.- History - Classic material, Biblical material.- Folk material.

Muzio has written of the epic:

> This sovereign poem is a picture
> Of the world, and within itself comprises [1]
> Every style, every genre, and every fortune.

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1 Muzio: Dell'Arte Portica, Venice 1551; Bk. II, p. 80.

> Il poema sourano è una pittura
> De l'uniuerso: però in se comprende
> Ogni stilo, ogni forma, ogni ritratto:
> Perche spesso lasciando l'alte imprese
> Discende à l'opre humili: da la selce
> Tragge'l foco ne l'esca, ne le frasche
> Mette la mensa, da l'acqua à le mani.
> Non cosi si conuiene à la zampogna
> Liberamente, senza alcuna scusa
> Tentar l'altero suono: cio ne insegna
> La maestra natura, e i buon costumi.
> Non e uietato al Re lasciar lo scettro
> Et mischiarsi fra l vulgo: e ben disdetto
> A' la plebe sedere in real seggio

Tasso, T.: Del Poema Eroico; Lib. II, pp. 89-90

Election displays highest quality of intellect - demands prudence. ..... "Ma l'arte distingue fra le cose disposte a ricever la forma, e quelle che non sono disposte." - "niuna selva fu già mai ripiena di tanta varietà d'alberi, di quanta diversità di soggetti è la poesia, La materia poetica adunque pare amplissima oltre tutte l'altre; però che abbraccia le cose alte ~~p. 90~~ le basse, le gravi, e le giocose, le meste e le ridente, le publiche e le private, l'incognite e le conosciute, e profane, le civili e le naturali, l'umane e le divine: ~~(p. 90)~~ Its boundaries are not mountains and seas. - "ma il cielo e la terra: anzi l'altissima parte del cielo, e la profondissima del piu grave elemento; perciò che Dante, innalgandosi dal centro, ascende sovra tutte le stelle fisse e sovra tutti i giri celesti;"

"e Vergilio ed Omere ci descrissero non solamente le cose che sono sotto la terra, ma quelle ancora che a pena con l'intelletto possiamo considerare; ma le ricoprirono con un gentilissimo velo d'allegoria."

The variety is so great that it is "quasi del mondo istesso,

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Spenser draws his romantic material through three main channels, Malory's Morte d'Arthur,[1] the more sophisticated forms of the Italian poets Ariosto and Tasso, and the old metrical romances. To the first he is indebted chiefly for suggestions and minor incidents.[2] Most of the material drawn from Malory has received increment from Spenser's wide knowledge of the metrical romances. This knowledge is so thorough and varied that it permits an interweaving of incident and motif which tends to mislead those who seek to establish a definite or continued parallel to any one romance.[3]

No mere statement of the fact can convey the degree to which romance has permeated the whole fabric of Spenser's work. The influence has extended far beyond story and episode. It enters into structure, into style, and into handling of incident and ideal of character, - all of which will be discussed in their turn.

In choosing, as the exponent of his system of philosophy, Arthur, the hero of a romantic cycle which was spread over England, France, and Italy, Spenser definitely wedded his allegory to romance.

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1 Here should also be included the legendary matter of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

2 Marie Walther: Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene. Miss Walther's excellent work is marred by a lack of recognition of other influences. In seeking thoroughness, she has assigned to Malory features which have a far more complete and closer parallel elsewhere.

3 Among those who have treated the influence of romance in Spenser are: Miss Walthef, (cited above); E. K. Broadus: The Red Cross Knight and Lybeaus Desconus, M. L. N. XVIII, p. 202 ff.; Ayers, H. S., The Faerie Queene: Amis and Amiloun, M. L. N. v. 23 p. 177 ff.; Hall, E.A., Spenser and Two O. Fr. Grail Romances, P. M. L. A., v. 21, 1915, pp. 539 ff.; Fletcher, J.B.: Huon of Bordeux and the Faerie Queene: Jour. of Germ. Phil. II, pp. 203-212 (1898) (See Trans. by Lord Berners 1525, Pr. by Wynken de Worde, 1534.); Macarthur, J.R., The Influence of Huon of Bordeux

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In these few lines meet Spenser's conception of the epic and the more liberal view of the Renaissance. The phrasing is happy and economic. Spenser's intimate use of material is one of the great features of his art. He was guided by the three critical theories of variety, imitation, and invention. The variety of material employed, and the number of genres used demand a sharp division between what may be classified according to source, and what belongs more peculiarly to a rhetorical form. The genre will thus be treated in its double connotation of class and style.

It has been urged that Spenser accepted the criteria of his day, and that his epic, under the deliberate guidance of fixed rules, was as consciously the product and exemplar of criticism as were the epics of Trissino and Ronsard. This is clearly exemplified in his use of material. The actual handling of material will form the first part of this discussion followed by an exposition and application of theory.[1]

Romance forms the body of the poem. The choice of subject and the structural influence of romance have been already discussed.

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note continued.

il quale pare che abbia mutata faccia". To attain this variety a ~~it~~ is required (judgment) which "potrà scegliere il meglio e quello che è piu acconcio a ricevere ornamento e bellezza, sarà artificiosissimo e prudentissimo oltre tutti gli altri - Some believe that prudence and counsel have no part in art. " Tasso writes to send a light "ch'illustri le tenebre che fanno oscura la grandissima selva della materia poetica."
p. 91, 3 points to be observed.

Guarini: Op. v. III, Reply to Del Nores
p. 76 -"Cicerone, ed Orazio la chiamano specchio della vita." -

[1] The entrance of romance [first] into cultured literature, notably into the epic, caused the most heated literary discussion of the age. Tasso, Cinthio, and Pigna were its ardent advocates.
The French kept their heads in the matter, and calmly demanded epic form, with romantic material.

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In Arthur's search for the Faerie Queene we have a feature of romance common enough to be burlesqued by Chaucer in his Ryme of Syr Thopas,[1] who dreams:

"An elf-queen shal my lemman be,
And slepe under my gore.
. . . .
. . . .
And to an elf-queen I me take
By dale and eek by doune."

In his quest the Red Cross Knight comes to

"The contree of Fairye." (ll. 77-78, 84-85, 91.)

where he finds the object of his search[2]

"Heer is the queen of Fay erye." (line 104.)

Spenser's treatment of the Faerie Queene motif, both in her visit to Arthur[3] and his subsequent search for her is peculiarly illustrative of his flexible use of material. There are many types of this story.[4] In the one a beautiful woman unsolicited or unperceived enters the hero's bed. But this act

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upon the Faerie Queene, (Reply to Fletcher) Jour. Germ. Phil. IV, pp. 215-238 (1902); Maynadier, Howard: The Arthur of the English Poets, ch. XV, p. 257. Jusserand, J.J.: Lit. Hist. of the Eng. People, v. II, p. 495. Warton, Thos.: Observations on the Faerie Queene, ch. II, Of Spenser's Imitations from Old Romance.

1 The extant romances are largely those, which having received a more cultured form, are preserved in print. The dragon killing Wade, and the boat of Wayland, exist so far as is known, only in reference. Chaucer's Sir Thopas furnishes food for speculation. The whole satire is made up of the stock terms of romance. That the hero seems to have vanished from literature is only an argument that he belongs peculiarly to the people. Puttenham, (Arte Englishe Poesie, C. X, p. 87) lends support to this theory. He cites first among a group of romances, "made purposely for the recreation of the common people at Christmasse diners brideales, and in tauernes alehouses, and such other places of base resort" the "tale of Sir Topas." Warton (Ob. F. Qu., C. II pp. 72-73) ascribes the reference to Chaucer's poem. This association is most improbable, both from the context, and from Puttenham's view of Chaucer as established elsewhere.

2 Cf. King James VI: Short Treatise on Verse. In one of his illustrative verses appears the line:
"The king of Fary with the Court of the Elf quene."

3. Bk. I, C. IX, st. 13-15. Cf. L.C.Paton: Fairy Myth. of Arth. Rom. Ch. I. For more complete presentanion of types, see Prof. T. Forbes: Med. Phil. XII,

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is commonly preceded by circumstances so manipulated as to bring the man of her choice to the fairy mistress.[1] Either, in the form of an animal, she herself lures him on in the chase, or she sends messengers to direct him to her. [See 5x.]

In an other type is found the "loathly lady" who begs admittance to the man's bed. Here again are two classes; the woman who under a spell seeks to break the charm that binds her, and the good fairy who under a hideous form tests her chosen knight.[2] In all cases the fairy-woman has within her gift great wealth and power if not sovereignty, although usually she is a queen in her own right. Some stories are rationalized in the need of an heir for the kingdom.

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1 The best example is perhaps Partonope of Blois, E. E. T. S., v. 109. (Addit. MS. 35, 288 Brit. Mus.) See also Launfal, by Thomas Chestre: Ritson: Metrical Romances, v. 1, p. 170 ff.; Lai of Marie de France; Generydes, E.E.T.S., v. 55, lines 36-189; The Romans of Partency, or the Tale of Melusine, E.E.T.S. v. 22, ff.; Graelent, a Lai of Marie de France, Tr. by Miss Rickert; Tomas of Erseldoune: E.E.T.S. vols. 3, 16, 61.

2 The Hrôlf Kraki Saga of the 14th Cen.: King Helgi sits alone in hut. A wretched woman enters. She asks admittance to his bed, saying her life depends upon it. Helgi consents, but turns from her loathliness. Later he sees she has become a woman of marvellous beauty who fills him with love.

The Four Sons of Finn:
These men were in a hut on a stormy night. A wretched woman enters. She begs them in turn to allow her to come under their covers. All refuse except Diarmaid, the youngest. He turns the cover between them. Later he sees she is very beautiful. She promises him the most beautiful castle in the world. The next morning it is on the spot he chose. They wed.

In Irish analogues we find the story of the Sons of Daire. It is foretold one will be king of Ireland. He will be king who takes a fawn that will come to the assembly. The fawn comes. The six sons set out in pursuit. Macnaid kills it. Night falls; a cold storm arises. The brothers come in turn to a comfortable house. An old hag is within. She asks the first his will: "A bed till morning." "Thou shalt have it if thou wilt lie with me." "Not so," answers the young man. "Thou hast severed from thee sovereignty and kingship." So with the next four. Then came Macnaid. He grants the hag's request. She immediately becomes beautiful. "Good is thy journey," she said, "I am the sovereignty; and it is thou shalt obtain the Sovereignty of Erin."

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Again the fairy woman herself seeks the man of her choice; the meeting then takes place in the world of men. Afterward the lady may remain with her lover until some violated taboo or other untoward circumstance severs their union; or she may take him with her to the "other world," or else bid him seek her there..

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Now, although no exact source or parallel can be pointed out, there are here suggestions which must underlie Spenser's work. Other stories could be cited which perhaps in single points might conform more nearly to Spenser.[1] It is very possible that some forms, known to him are no longer extant. But there is no need to find the exact parallel, for here is demonstrated the Renaissance conception of invention, and the peculiar bent of Spenser's genius; in that, out of a combination of suggestions and conditions he is able to create a new situation. This he has done.

The situation requires most delicate handling. The Faerie Queene is the great Elizabeth. Never could the queen be represented as a loathly hag; all sensual coarseness must be shorn away. No where else has Spenser displayed a more subtle delicacy than in this brief passage. Half a dream, half a vision the beautiful queen comes and promises her love -

"As when just time expired, should appear."[2]

The lover in his ecstacy half doubts "whether dreames delude, or true it were". When he awakes and finds "nought but pressed

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Story of the Sons of Eochaid: The hag is royal sovereignty. In the Dindsendchas (Bk. of Leinster) she is the sovereignty of Erin and Alba; in another version she is sovereignty of the two kingdoms. In the story of Conn (O'Curry's MSS. Materials,) pp. 620-21 a radiant princess of fay-like surroundings, with no suggestion of the "loathly lady" is the sovereignty of Erin. There are many Irish stories of seeking a fairy woman.

It is probable that the first Canto of the F. Q. was completed before Spenser went to Ireland. But he must have learned many of the Irish stories there. He notes in V. Pr. St. Ire., p.119 where he discusses Irish learning that he has "caufed diuers of them (compositions) to be tranflated" and he has found they savored of "fweete witt and good invencon" but were lacking in art.

1 See Maynadier, Howard: Grimm's Lib.: The Wife of Bath's Tale, Its Sources and Analogues. The Arthur of English Poetry, p. 129 The incidents of Irish origin passed into English. "Their nucleus was an allegorical Irish folk-tale, in which a magical (con.)

2 F. Q. Bk. 1, C. IX, st. 14, line 4.

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grass where she had lyen", insensibly we pass into the world of reality. His vow to find her again is real; so are Una's words as she gently speaks, half reflective; happy is this queen who has found one so meet to defend her honour and her foes confound. Real and prophetic are the words of the Red Cross Knight when he accepts his sovereign:

> "And you, my lord, the patrone of my life,
> Of that great Queene may well gaine worthy grace;
> For only worthie you through prowes priefe [1]
> If living man mote worthie be, to be her liefe."

And in the end we have no doubt the maiden queen has exercised her royal prerogative, and has summoned to herself the man of her choice, and that to Arthur has come the sovereignty of Alba. The visit of the Faerie Queene to her lover is however a mere incident. There are other more extended features of romance.

The Elfin knights are scheduled to depart from the court of Faery in precisely the same manner, and on adventures motivated in precisely the same way, as do the knights of Arthur's Round Table from his court. The exigencies of Spenser's plot demanded the shift of centralization. Had Leicester won Elizabeth, and had Spenser written the second twelve books, the knights would have constituted the orthodox Round Table. A general analogue to the adventures of Spenser's Knights also exists in the feats of Charlemagne's douzepers.

The story of Una andthe Red Cross Knight is based upon one

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hunt served to bring the hero to a remote place where he was tested by a good fairy, and received as his reward not only her continued favour but the sovereignty of Erin. Then was added the additional test of the hero's complaisance by the trying question "fair by night or by day". See also Prof. Cross: (Op. Cit.), Note4, p. 598; Miss Paton: (Op. Cit.), Note I, p. 29.

[1] F.Q., I, C. IX, st. 17, lines 6-9.

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of the most beautiful and popular romance themes of the middle ages. Spenser has given us the key in his letter to Raleigh. Without this, the identification of the knight who "was pricking on the plaine" would be an even more difficult task. A distressed maiden mounted on a white steed and followed by a dwarf, comes to court and appeals for aid. A youth, clownish and inexperienced, but noble and beautiful, claims the enterprise by right of a previous promise from the sovereign. He is supplied with armor[1] and sets out. The maiden scorns her rustic champion (even the gentle Una "much gainesaying"), but is won by his prowess and nobility. The youth accomplishes his venture, and becomes the flower of chivalry.

Spenser has given us a composite presentation of the Gareth, Sir Perceval, and Lybaeus Desconus stories. These show contamination in the [illegible] and many details common to them and to Spenser's story are to be found in other romances, notably in Ypomedon.[2] The Red Cross Knight has been identified with each of the three heroes, but conforms more nearly to Gareth than to the others. He likewise shares the personality of St. George with Arthur.[3] He bears the bloody cross of St. George upon his breast and shield. He is [illegible] St. George by Spenser,[4] and when the Hevenly Contemplation prophecies his future, he says:

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1 In this connection there is some evidence of imperfect fusion of the stories. In the Perceval story the hero strips the armor from the Knight whom he has slain, and is fully armed when he meets the messenger from "Maydene-land". Libeaus Desconus dons the armor of a knight he finds dead in forest, but is reamed by courtiers. (Note cont. on 8b)

2 The Lyfe of Ipomydon; Weber: Met. Roms. v. II.

3 Arthur bears the dragon crest of St. George - F. Q. Bk. I, C. VII, st. 31.

4 F. Q. I, II, 11; "The true St. George was wandred far away"; I, II, 12; Bk. I, X, 61; and 66.

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(Note cont.)

In Lyb. Des., the dwarf accompanies the lady. Gareth comes to court accompanied by two men and a dwarf; they leave. The lady comes, escorted by her dwarf, but upon having to accept the rustic Gareth as her champion, she rides off alone. The dwarf is not mentioned. Then the dwarf of Gareth comes again with horse and armor.

In the F. Q., Una's dwarf leads a horse bearing the armor of a knight. When, after the treachery of Archimago, the R.C.K. departs hastily: "The dwarfe him brought his steed: so both away do fly."

F. Q. Bk. I, C. 2, St. vi.

Note: The implication here is that the dwarf is the personal servitor of the knight. This idea is probably an inheritance from the Gareth source.

The references are to: Gareth story: Morte d'Arthur; Sir Percival: Ed. Halliwell, Thornton Romances, 1844; Lybeaus Desconus: Ritson: Ancient English Metrical Romances, V. II, pp. 1-90. (Camden Soc. Pub.)

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"For thou, emongst those saints whom thou dost see,
Shalt be a saint, and thine owne nations frend
And patrone: thou Saint George shalt called bee,
Saint George of mery England, the signe of victoree'.

The incorporation of St. George with Sir Perceval, Lybeaus Desconus, or Gareth opens the way for a dragon fight. With his accustomed profusion Spenser gives us two.[1] In the first encounter, with the dragon Errour, the poet crowds out his story by allegory. The details of the actual fight are purely conventional, with perhaps some borrowing from Guy of Warwick. For the second encounter, which is the prime adventure of the knight, Spenser has had direct recourse to the romance of Bevis of Hamptoun romance.[2] The parallels here are unmistakable,[3] although again Guy of Warwicke may have lent some details.

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1 There are two dragon fights in Guy of Warwicke. E.E.T.S. v. 25, (a) lines 3840 sq; (b) lines 6812 sq.

2 This has been pointed out by Thos. Warton: Observations on the F. Q., Bk. I, c. II.

3 Sir Beves of Hamtoun: E.E.T.S., v. 46, 1885. Ed. Kölbing: A refers to Auchinleck MS.; M refers to paper MS. #8009 of Chetham Library, Manchester.

ll. 2423-4. M He cast vp a loude crye
As it had thundred in the skye"

F.Q.I, ii, 21. He cryde as raging seas are wont to rore."

B.H.:A. 2769. "A spere he let to him glide
And smote þe dragoun on þe side.
Þe spere sterte a þen anan
So þe hail upon þe ston.

F.Q. I, ii. The pointed steele arriving rudely theare
His harder hyde would nether perce nor bight.
But, glauncing by, foorth passed forward right.
- - -

B.H.:A. Þe dragoun harde him gan asaile
And smot his hors wip þ e taile
- - - -
Now is Beues to grounde brou þ t."

F.Q. I, II, 16. The wrathfull beast about him turned light
And him so rudely; passing by, did brush
With his long tayle, that horse and man to
ground did rush.

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The principal points of contact between the Bevis and Spenser episodes are as follows. On the first day the attack with the spear fails; both knight and steed are struck to the ground. The dragon cleaves the knight's shield and wounds him in the shoulder.[1] He falls backward; Bevis falls into a well, the R. C. K. into a stream which flows from a well. The virtues of the well are practically the same; but in Bevis they are attributed to a virgin and the well bears the character of that of a saint's legend, while in Spenser it receives the Biblical name of "Well of Life".[2] Both knights come out refreshed and the battle is renewed next day. In Bevis the dragon casts forth

In Bevis no evil thing can come within forty[3] feet of the well.
In F. Q. the beast durst not approach.

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B.H.A. 2797 Þe dragoun asailede him fot hot
Wiþ his taile on his scheld a smot
That hit clevede heuene ato,
His left scholder dede also.

F.Q. I, II, 38 "The mortall sting his angry needle shott
Quite through his shield, and in his shoulder seasd."

B.H.:M 2450 "The dragon sued on Beuys so harde,
That as he shulde hawe fled bacwarde,
There was a wel, so hawe I winne,
And Beuys stumbled ryght therin;"

F.Q. I, II, 38-39 "But gan his sturdy sterne about to weld,
And on him so strongly stroke, that to the ground him feld."

st. 9 It fortuned, as fayre it then befell
Behynde his backe, unweeting where he stood,
Of auncient time there was a springing well,
From which fast trickeled forth a silver flood."

[1] Cf. Guy of Warwicke, Ed. Zupitzka E.E.T.S. vols 25, 26:
lines 6877-8. "He smote hym wyth hys spere faste:
Hyt brake in pecys at the laste."
line 6884 "And smote hym (Guy) downe and hys stede."
line 6912 "And wyth hys tayle faste he dud hym smete
Thorow þe schelde in a stownde," -
line 6708 Guy takes refuge under a tree.
See also Sir Tristrem: (Scottish Text Soc. 1886.) lines 1440 - 1460.

[2] Cf. Letter to Raleigh: Ref. to the "armor of righteousness".

[3] The ref. is to M -. In Auchinleck the distance is seven feet.

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venim, in the Faerie Queene flame. In both cases the knights recoil and fall, in Bevis into the same well, in the F. Q. into a stream which flowed from the Tree of Life. The vigor of both knights is again renewed. On the third day the dragon is slain by each knight; the towns-people come forth and rejoice.[1]

While Spenser undoubtedly allegorizes the whole fight, he yet makes a purely romance presentation. Many features are entirely conventional. The scales of brass, the brilliant eyes, the loud roar, and evil stench appear in numerous passages. The Tree of Life is one of the favorite features of romance. In his encounter with the dragon, Guy of Warwicke takes refuge under a tree.[2] In the second dragon fight of Huon of Burdeux there appear a fountain and an apple tree. Huon bathed in the fountain and ate of the fruit, and was thereby healed of his wounds.[3] In the general situation[4] and in the part played by Una there are distinct reminiscences of the Gareth story. The fall of the knight into revivifying waters, and the consequent idea of baptism[5] has developed in connection with the giant fight. Lybeaus Desconus is hurled into a stream by a treacherous blow from a giant. He springs out with renewed strength, declaring he has been baptised.[6] Guy of Warwick undergoing a like mishap, returns to the combat with fresh vigor and taunts his foe, crying

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[1] Guy of Warwicke: line 6965. The hero is brought to town - "wyth a grete precessyowne".

[2] line 6908.

[3] Huon of Burdeux: E.E.T.S. v. 40, 41, 43, 50. Bk.2, ch. 125, pp. 459, 460.

[4] Cf. Guy of Warwick, line 6868 ff.

[5] See R.E.N. Dodge: Mod. Phil. III, p. 191 ff.

[6] Lyb. Des.: lines 1350-1362.

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"Thou haste me baptysed -."[1]

Another effective romance feature is the devotion of the lion to the chaste Una. This motif is found in Bevis of Hampton. Bevis leaves Iosane to search for food. Two lions come. They rend her attendant but fawn upon Una. This is proof to Bevis of her virginity[2], which she has preserved by a charm although forced into another marriage in Bevis' absence. A similar instance appears again in the Octavian Romance.[3] Here the empress seeks the den of a lioness to recover her stolen child. The lioness is subdued by the beauty and purity of the empress and follows, as her protectress, on a subsequent pilgrimage.

Ref. The story of Una andthe Red Cross Knight, condensed and incomplete as has been the discussion, should illustrate Spenser's method. Stories are shredded and rewoven into a new fabric. One story is grafted upon another, one personality upon another; feats and adventures are transferred; situations are reproduced in a changed environment. In short, Spenser has so absorbed the atmosphere of romance, that the nature of its growth has become his method of creation.

One incident will be cited to show his power of elaborating a single episode, briefly told, rather bare of detail, into a series of scenes rich in imagery and crowded with literary device. The original is the rescue of the lady of Synadoun by

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1 Guy of W.: line 8265. This incident also exists in one version of the Tristram story.

2 Puttenham refers to the recognition of chastity and noble blood by animals.

3 Bodleian Lib., Hatton MS. 100. Hand of 13th or 14th Cent.

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Libeaus Desconus;[1] the analogue is Britomart's adventure in the palace of Busirane.[2]

Libeaus Desconus on his arrival at the town, hears from the steward Lambard, the piteous plight of his Lady of Synadowne. Two "clerkes of nygremanſye" have made "A palys queynte of gynne". Therein they have imprisoned the lady and do to her " - - turmentrye
And all vylanye
Be dayes and be nyht.

until " - sche graunte hem tylle
To do Mabounnys wylle"
- - - -
- - - -
Therfore we beth in despeyre
That sche be dyght to synne. lines 1714 - - 1722.

The palace is guarded by necromancy so that no man dare enter.[3] The lady is made distinctly "so gentyll a dame" that she strongly suggests the lovely Amoret.

Lambard accompanies Libeaus to the gate, but dares go no further. Gylet, his squire, awaits the knight at the door:

"Syr Lybeauus knyght certeys
Rod ynto the palys,
And at the halle alyghte;
Trompes, ſchalmuſes,
He ſeygh be for the hyegh deys
Stonde yn hys ſyghte.
Amydde the halle flore
A fere ſtark and ſtore
Was lyght and brende bryght," lines 1759-1770.

He led his horse into the hall and began to search the place.

---

1 Elene, the messenger of the Lady of Synadowne, asks aid for her mistress at Arthur's court. L. D., a rustic youth, claims the adventure, and sets out with Elene.

2 Britomart, a warrior maid, seeks her lover. She comes upon Scudamour lamenting the fate of Amoret. She leaves Scudamour and her squire Glauce at the door and enters the palace of Busirane.

3 "Thys ys be nygremauncye,
Ymaketh of fayrye,
Ne man may hyt wynne;" lines 1705-7.

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He saw no one, -

"But men ſtrales ~~you~~ "yclodeth yn palle.
Wyth harp, fydele, and rote,
Orgenes, and mery note,
   Well mery they maden alle;
Wyth ſyſtole, and ſawtrye,
So moche melodye
   Was never wythinne walle."

Before ech menſtrale ſtod
A torche fayre and good,
   Brennynge fayre and bryght." 1775-1785.
   - - - -
   - - - -
He yede ynto the corneres,
And lokede on the pylers
That ſelcouth wer of ſyghte,
   - - - -
   - - - -
The thores wer of bras,
The wyndowes wer of glas,
Flory ſſeth wyth imagerye,
The halle ypaynted was,
No rychere never ther was, "
   That he hadde ſeye wyth eye.
He ſette hym an that deys,
The men ſtroles, wer yn pes,
   That were go good and trye.
The torches that brende bryght
Quenchede anon ryght,
   The menſtrales wer aweye

Dores and wyndowes alle
Beten yn the halle,
   As ſtyt wer voys of thunder;
The stones of the walle
Over hym gon falle,
   - - - -
That deys began to ſchake,
The erthe began to quake,
   - - - -
The rof abothe unlek,
   - - - -
   - - - -

As he ſat thus dyſmayde,
And held hymself betrayde,
Stedes herde he naye." 1789 - - - - 1821.

He looks out and sees two knights ride into the field. One rides into the hall and challenges Libeaus. He meets the two

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1 Evidently a typographical error — [so/].

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in the field, overthrows one, then slays the other. Returning to where the first lay, he finds that he has vanished. Libeaus is sorely troubled at the magician's escape. As he prays in the hall —

> "Out of the ston walle
> A wyndow down fyll thare;"
> - - - -
>
> A warm come out a pace,
> Wyth a womannes face, " (ll. 1985 - - 1991)

She kisses him, and changes to a woman.

Spenser follows every motif of the scene given above, as far as the combat, and recreates the whole situation. Britomart hears from Scudomour, as did L. D. from Lambert, of the imprisonment of the gentlest lady alive. She is daily tortured to submit to the evil will of the enchanter. Both knights grieve over her inevitable sin. In each case the true champion of the lady, and the attendant of the rescuer are left without the door: The place is a house rather than a castle. No porters or guards are present. The fire forms the only forbidding barrier.

Britomart enters and searches the house. The windows, which "Floryſſreth with imagerye," and the "ypainted walls" are vivified into the pageant-like presentation of "Cupid's warres."

In these two cantos (Bk. III, c.II, st. ~~XI, and XII~~) Spenser has spent his genius lavishly. He summons his rare knowledge of the classics to his aid and weaves the tapestry into vignettes, some of exquisite detail. Faire Leda rests her dainty limbs, among the daffodils. Beside her, all unconscious as she sleeps, the proud swan ruffles his white breast. The swift chariot of Neptune skims the sea, The breath of his sea-horses —

> " -- made the sparckling waves to smoke agayne,
> And flame with gold, but the white fomy creame

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Did shine with silver.[1] " (F. Q. Bk. III, XI.)

The "Hyghe days" at the end of the hall, becomes an altar:

"And at the upper end of that faire rowme,
There was an altar built of pretious stone,
Of passing valew and of great renowme,
On which there stood an image all alone
Of massy gold, which with his owne light shone;
And winges it had with sondry colours dight,
More sondry colours then the proud pavone
Beares in his boasted fan, or Iris bright,
When her discoloured bow she spreds
through hevens bright. (F. Q. III, XI,47)

The blind god holds his arrows in his hand -

"Some headed with sad lead, some with pure gold."

Beneath his feet was written:

"Unto the victor of the gods this bee."

The next room is even more richly adorned, for there the triumphs of Love and the follies of his captives are engraved upon walls overlaid with gold, and wrought in the metal.[2] When at last -

"- sad shadowes gan the world to hyde,
From mortall view, and wrap in darknes dreare - "

the weary maid "drew her selfe aside" to await what might befall. Suddenly[3] -

"She heard a shrilling trompet sound alowd,
Signe of nigh battaill or got victory "

- - - -

With that an hideous storme of winde arose,
With dreadfull thunder and lightning atwixt,
And an earthquake, as if it streight would lose
The worlds foundations from his centre fixt:

- - - -

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1 Cf. Tasso: Ger. Lib. C., XVI, IV.

2 Cf. Ger. Lib., C. XIV, st. ii.

3 F.Q., Bk. III, C. XII, st. 1, lines 5-6; st. 2, lines 1-4; st. 3, lines1-4.

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All suddeinly a storny whirlwind blew
Throughout the house, that clapped every dore,
With which that yron wicket open flew,
As it with mighty levers had bene tore"

"With that a joyous fellowship issewed
Of minstrales, making goodly meriment,
With wanton bardes, and rymers impudent.
All which together song full chearefully
A lay of loves delight, with sweet concent:
- - - -

The whiles a most delitious harmony
In full straunge notes was sweetly heard to sound,
That the rare sweetnesse of the melody
The feeble sences wholly did confound,
- - - -
And the frayle soule in deepe delight nigh drownd:
And when it ceast, shrill trompets loud did bray."
F. Q. Bk.III, c.XII, sts 5,6

Then follows the masque of Cupid, justly one of the celebrated passages of the Faerie Queene.

The passage is a work of artistry and imagination. Mediaeval allegory and court of love symbolism meet in stately pageantry. It is a transmutation of crude material into a cultured form. The figures are stock figures, types, and the comprehensiveness astonishes us, for Spenser has forgotten none. They are delineated not by broad strokes, or telling spithet, but by symbolic detail. This symbolism, painstakingly wrought gives a meditative, almost philosophic atmosphere to the procession which moves slowly before us. The pageant holds the attention but gives no pleasure. It is the conventional complaint of love's cruelty sombreness in its intensity carried to a psychic . And when we think every evil that could follow in love's train has passed, the poet tells us

"There were full many moe like maladies,
- - - -
So many moe, as there be phantasies
In wavering wemens witt, that none can tell,
Or paines in love, or punishments in hell."
F. Q. III, XII, 26.

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Spenser's use of romance has been discussed in three phases: in blending related themes to form one central theme; in weaving threads and incidents from a dozen stories to create one; in the development of a single situation from meagre suggestion into passages of imaginative richness. The extent of his knowledge and use of the genre is yet to be considered.

His general indebtedness to Malory's Morte d'Arthur has been noted. From this rich storehouse of romance he has drawn names and incidents, too numerous to be cited here. He has mentioned Joseph of Arimathea andthe holy grail;[1] the story of Merlin[2] andthe Ladies of the Lake;[3] Huon of Burdeux[4] and Oberon.[5] Sir Tristram[6] enters the pages, and the poet promises he shall come again. Chaucer's unfinished tale of Triamond and Canace has a romance origin.[7] Spenser has used the stories of the Squire of Low Degree, and Amys and Amiloun.[8] From these two a central theme is drawn but with little accompanying incident.[9]

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1 F. Q., Bk. II, c. X, st. 53, lines 7-8.

2 Bk. III, cantos ii-andiiii;

3 Bk. III, c. 3, st. 9, line 6.

4 Bk. II, c. 1, st. 6, line 8.

5 Bk. II, c. 1, st. 6, line 9, Bk. II, c. X, st. 75, line 8.

6 Bk. VI, cantos ii, iii.

7 Bk. IV, cantos ii, iii, iv. Canace appears in Malory, Triamond is found in both Guy of Warwick and Tristram.

8 Bk. IV, c. 8, st. 50 - c. IX, st. 18. For stories see Ritson: Anc. Eng. Met. Roms., vols. iii; Weber, Met. Roms. v. II, pp. 372 ff.

9 Cf. H. M. Ayres, M. L. N., v. 28.

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The Blatant Beast, the pursuit of which offers the adventure of the sixth book, is an adaptation of Malory's questing beast.[1] Florimel's girdle[2] carries reminiscences of The Boy and the Mantle, the Enchanted Cup, the magic horn,[3] and the famous girdles of chastity. Her imprisonment in a chamber beneath the waves, whence her plaints are heard by her lover is purely an incident of ~~pure~~ romance;[4] so is the story of Mirabell,[5] the story of the Castle of Beards,[6] of the knight who carries the lady's head as penalty for his crime,[7] of the wager by which the loser must take the loathly lady,[8] of Samient the maiden messenger of Irena,[9] the story of the Amazons[10], and so ad infinitum.

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1 Morte d'Arthur, Bk. I, ~~Chps.~~ XVII, & XVIII. A Reference should be made here to Bruno's strange dialogue, Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante (Pub. 1584) Pub. 1584 cannot be forborne here. This is a work of moral philosophy in which the virtues are elaborately treated. While Bruno's philosophy is here antipodal to that of Spenser, there is much in the work, besides the title, which points to a common stock of ideas.

2 F. Q. III, ~~VII~~, 31, 36; VIII, ii.; Bk. IV, I, 15. Spenser gives a classic origin - the girdle of Venus. (F.Q. IV, V, 5); cf. Guigemar: Lai of Marie de France, for instance of girdle of chastity.

3 Lay of the Horn: Par Robt. Briquet.

4 F. Q. IV, XII, 5-12; cf. Sir Torrent of Portyngale.

5 F. Q. VI, vii, 28-50; cf. Or. Fu. c. XXXIV, 11-43.

6 F. Q. VI, i, 11-47. This incident appears in: Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bk. X, c. 3; Malory, Bk. I, c. 24; Suite Merlin, or Livre d'Arthur, Pt. II, fol. 105; Layamon: Brut, V, 11957 sq.; Drayton, Michael: Polyobion; King Rience's Challenge; Allit. Morte d'Arthur, Thornton MS.; Perlèswaus ~~(p. 104)~~, Evans' High History of the Holy Grail, (Ev. Man's Lib.) pp. 99-104,

7 F. Q. v. i, 16-29; cf. Malory: Bk. VI, C. XVII.

8 F. Q. IV, 9; the incident probably drawn from Or. Fu. c. XX, 106-129.

9 F. Q. v. viii, 4-51.

10 F. Q. V, cantos IV, V, and VII: King Alisaunder, line 4916, sq.; Or. Fu. c. XIX, 57 sq. ~~Malory.~~

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As belonging to romance must also be classed the tournaments, the knights and Saracens that ride at large, and the giants, dwarfs, witches, and satyrs that people the pages.[1]

Indeed, Spenser has not even overlooked the growing popularity of the Greek romance, but has included that type in the story of Pastorella. Abandoned as a babe by her mother, Pastorella was reared by a good shepherd Meliboeus. Later carried off by pirates she barely escaped being sold as a slave, but, through fortuitous circumstances she is eventually brought to the home of her parents. There she is identified by the trusty maid, through all the tokens of the conventional recognition motif.[2]

It is the purpose of this thesis to discuss sources only in so far as they are directly concerned with the method and extent of Spenser's use of certain material. Nor is the purpose controversial except when a complete divergence from the view of some earlier writer demands explanation.[3] There is, however, an error of long standing which demands correction. The Famous History of the Seven Champions of Christendom[4] has been authoritatively assigned as one of Spenser's sources. The work in question is a compilation which can only be described as a hodgepodge of romance, and the error which assigns it as Spenser's source, is an apt comment on his method. The matter is

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[1] F. Q. I, V, 6-13; IV, iii, 4-48; IV, iv, 15-48; V, iii, 5-27.

[2] Ibid., VI, ix sq.

[3] The full discussion of Spenser's use of romance, and of his sources for this material is reserved for a later work.

[4] By Richard Johnson (1573-1659).

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pertinent to the present discussion, because it is unfair to discuss Spenser's varied use of material without acknowledgment of Warton's previous work in the field, and in the matter of romance without a correction of his error.

~~It is~~ Warton who has first emphasized Spenser's supposed indebtedness to this prose romance, both as regards structure and episode.[1] A careful search has revealed the fact that the earliest reference to the work in question is an entry on the Stationer's Books for John Danter, April 20, 1596.[2] The earliest extant copy bears the date 1597.[3] These dates pre-

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[1] Observations on the Faerie Queene: London, 1807: Bk.1, C.1, p27 "It may be moreover observed, that the circumstance of each of Spenser's twelve knights departing from one place by a different way, to perform a different adventure, exactly resembles that of the seven knights entering upon their several expeditions, in the well-known romance, entitled the Seven Champions of Christendom. Obs. Bk. I, p. 71, Reference to the Dragon Fight (Seven Champions, Bk. I, c. 2.); Obs. Bk. II, p. 123 - "Some circumstances in the Red-crosse Knight's combat with Errour, are drawn from St. George's combat with the serpent, in the Black Castle (S. C. Bk. II, c. viii); Obs. Bk. II, p. 124 " - in the Seven Champions "The magician caused by his art, a spirit in the likeness of a lady, of a marvellous and fair beauty, to look through an iron grate who seemed to lean her faire face upon her white hand very pensively, and distilled from her crystal eyes great abundance of tears, &c.'-" A comparison with the false Florimel (S. C. Bk. II, c. 8) Obs. Bk. II, p. 131 Maiden transformed into tree (S. C. Bk. 1, c. 4); Obs. Bk. II, p. 131 Lions subdued by chastity, (S. C. Bk. 1, c. XL); Obs. Bk. II, p. 143 St. Geo. carried off by Kalyb. (S. C. Bk. 1, ch. 1); Obs. Bk. II, p. 143. Serpent-fight in Black Castle compared to Errour in F. Q. (S. C. Bk. ii, ch. 6); Obs. Bk. II, p. 182. Lost chain of Sabra compared with girdle of Florimell (S. C. Bk. 1, ch. 16). Obs. Bk. II, p. 192. Sound of drums (S. C. Bk. 1, ch. 5). Obs. Bk. II, p. 192 and p. 198, Carrying off of Dulcippa compared to Florimel episode (S. C. Bk. ii, c. 16).

[2] Lowndes: Bibl. Manual, v. II, pp. 1215-16; Dict. of Nat. Biog; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Also noted by Alex. Dyce.

[3] See Lowndes,; Rich. Heber, Bibliotheca Heberiana (1835), v. III, p. 137.

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clude[1] the possibility of Spenser's use of Johnson's work for the first three books of the Faerie Queene. It is in these books that the chief parallels pointed out by Warton seem to exist. Furthermore it may be stated that the edition of the Seven Champions used in this study is that of 1680. Each reference of Warton has been found to agree perfectly with this edition, and the one passage quoted, is a verbatim rendering. These facts definitely establish Warton's reference as made to the work of Richard Johnson,[2] rather than to that of some earlier writer.[3] The vastly different nature of the material in Spenser

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1 See Prof. John E. Matzke, The Legend of St. George, P. M. L.A 1902, 1903, 1904, New Series vols. X, XL, XII. Prof. Matzke studies in detail the amalgamation of the St. George Legend and the Bevis of Hampton story, basing his discussion on the work of Richard Johnson cited above. P. M. L. A. 1904, N. S. ~~on the work of~~ v. 12. He gives the date of publication of the Seven Champions as London, 1592, with no evidence to substantiate the assertion. This is the date of Johnson's earlier work, the Nine Worthies of London, and is in direct contradiction to all evidence for date of the Seven Champions. Had there been another book of this title there is small doubt Prof. Matzke would have discovered it. As sources for the Seven Champions he admits the English version of Sir Beves of Hamtoun See Ed. of Kölbing E.E.T.S. 1885-1894 , and possibly the Legenda Aurea. His investigation goes far to prove there exists no immediate common source for Spenser and Johnson. He agrees with Percy (Reliques, Edinburgh, 1873, v. III, p. 178) that the ballads are drawn from Jonhnson's Seven Champions. He concludes that Johnson used a version of the Bevis story not known to us at present (p. 468) [It may be permitted to state here Matzke has omitted two important points of contact with the older Bevis story. One is the treacherous letter which both Bevis and St. George bear as the emissary of the king. The second is the fact that the over-emphasized chastity of Sabrina found its motivation in a prophesy of evil to Bevis, if he married other than a maid.]

2 Warton cites another work of this author Obs. F. Q. Bk. 1, p. 83, The Red Rose Knight; Pub. 1607.

2 F. Carr of the New Shakespeare Soc. (Dict. Nat. Biog.) has pointed out verbal parallels between Shakespeare and the Seven Champions, which indicate a date for the latter later than that (con.)

3 ~~Since working out this theory I have found unexpected confir-~~

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and Johnson, and yet the possession of many features in common prove the existence of a large stock of romance material accessible to each writer. The failure of Matzke[1] in his careful investigation, to establish an immediate or comprehensive source for the Seven Champions, conduces to the idea of the common stock. Finally, the incorporation into his work of the twelve romance motifs, cited by Warton as borrowed from one work, but drawn as they must have been from several sources, is an eloquent comment on Spenser's mastery of material and power of imitation and assimilation, which needs no addition.

Spenser drew romantic elementsfrom both Ariosto and Tasso. This does not however constitute his full indebtedness, for he drew from the cultured epics not only theme, incident, and situation, but description, reflection, and wording. With all these elements to be considered, the thread of mere story becomes less significant. The material is handled with the same freedom of separation and adaptation as are his borrowings from romance proper, but there is an intrinsic difference in the two bodies of material. That drawn from the epics has passed through one refining process, and is removed a step from the popular romance. It has become more sophisticated, more subtle. Spenser uses it as the woof rather than the warp of his story. Only two themes from Ariosto and one from Tasso can be said to

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assigned by Matzke. While some of the borrowings of incident attributed by Warton to Spenser, stand in reversal to Johnson, the latter also owes to Spenser a far greater debt in the matter of verbal borrowings.

[1] Since working out this theory I have found unexpected confirmation in Bishop Percy's Reliques: v.III, p. 178 . In allusion to Warton's statements he observes: "I much doubt whether this popular romance were written so early as the Faery Queene".

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enter into the actual framework of the Faerie Queene.

From Orlando Furioso Spenser has taken in primary concept and intention, although not in parallel detail, the story of Bradamant and Rogero and retold it in the love and mission of Britomart and Artegall. The story of Braggadocio finds its roots also in Ariosto's epic, but Spenser has blended the characteristics of two men, Mandricardo and Martano to form one. That he has done this consciously is proved by the fact that incidents attached to the two figures in the Orlando are transferred to the one in the Faerie Queene. The whole subject of Spenser's indebtedness to Ariosto has been already treated with too great detail to require discussion here.[1] The essential point to be recognized is the immensity of that debt, and the countless transference of detail. It is as if Spenser said to himself, "Ariosto has this, I must not omit it", for the imitations are so numerous and so close as to definitely stamp upon the Faerie Queene the impress of the Orlando Furioso.

The borrowings from Tasso are less numerous than those

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[1] V. R.E.N. Dodge: Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto, P.M.L.A, v. 12, p. 1897. Although Prof. Dodge disclaims an exhaustive treatment, he has covered the ground with a thoroughness, impossible and unsuitable here. It is illustrative of the extent of Spenser's borrowings that my own tabulation, while differing in no essential point from that of Prof. D., takes into account many minor im'tations which are very close to the original. One is of interest, Prof. Dodge finds in Ruggiero's adventure in the palace of Alcina and the passion of its mistress, (Or. Fu., c. 7, st. 21 sq.) a similarity to the situation of Britomart in the house of Malecasta (F. Q. Bk. III, c. 1, st. 59 sq.). There exists a closer parallel. In Or. Fu. (c. 25) Flordespine, daughter of the King of Spain conceived a mad passion for Bradamant, and withdrawing her from the crowd, woos her passionately. To heal the pain Bradamant reveals her sex. Flordespine still grieves, and will share B-'s bed, where she bewails her misfortune to love a maid. After all Spenser has not overlooked a more striking and sensuous situation.

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from Ariosto, and are less subjected to the alchemy of change through which most of Spenser's material is passed. He recognized in Tasso a poet of a temper more akin to his own than the brilliant but fantastic Ariosto. Tasso's heightened detail of description and scenes of delicate sensuality found a response in the refined but imaginative and luxurious spirit of the English poet.

Spenser's great debt to Tasso is the Bower of Bliss[1] motif. The parallel begins in the story[2] of the hermit who directs Charles and Ubaldo on their journey to rescue Rinaldo from the enchantress Armida. He tells how Armida, angered against Rinaldo, planned to trap him on his journey. The young knight reaches the banks of a stream in the midst of which is a beautiful island. On the shore stands a fair marble pillar. Fastened to this by a golden chain, a little skiff dances on the waves. An inscription invites the comer, whether led by chance or idleness, to visit the island and see there the greatest wonders of the world. Rinaldo tempted, embarks. His companions are left behind for, the skiff is small. The island is of rare beauty but presents no wonders to his eyes. He sits down to rest. A phantom maiden rises from the waves and sings an enchanting song,[3] of which that of Phaedria is but an echo. The song lulls Rinaldo into heavy slumber. Then comes Armida, binds him with

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[1] The Bower of Bliss has a ~~very~~ respectable ancestry which probably goes back to the classics. The nearest in line to Tasso is that of Camoens' The Lusiads (Pub. Sept. 24, 1571. There were Two Spanish trans. in 1580.) Here exist many features of Tasso's scene.

[2] Ger. Lib., C. XIV, st. 57-72.

[3] Ibid., C. XIV, 54-56.

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chains of flowers, places him in her car, and bears him swiftly through the air to her enchanted domain.

The corresponding incident in the Faerie Queene[1] finds Cymochles at the edge of a river on which dances a little gondelay. Therein sits a laughing maid. She comes at Cymochles' call to ferry him across, but refuses to admit his follower Atin. She takes him to an island, where she sings him to sleep with a song, the counterpart of that of the phantom.[2] She then returns and brings over Guyon who, with the palmer, is searching for the bower of Acrasia, as is Charles, with his monitor Ubaldo for the castle of Armida. Here the parallel breaks. But it should be noted that through the allegoric chemistry known to Spenser the river to which Cymochles came, has become "The stouthful wave of that great greasy lake"[3] with

"dull billows thicke as troubled mire,"[4] (where)

" - every weighty thing they did upbeare
Ne ought might ever sinck down to the bottom there"[5]
Whom nether wind out of their seat could forse,
Nor timely tides did drive out of their sluggish course."

This is comparable both to the "stagnant lake unstirred by breeze or storm:"[6] which could well suggest an Idle Lake, or to the bubbling lake of slime into which nothing will sink, but all

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1F. Q.
F. Q., II, c. VI, st. 2-28.
2Ibid st. 15-17.
3Ibid st. 18, line 7.
4Ibid st. 20, line 7.
5Ibid st. 46, llines 8-9.
6Ger. Lib. c. VII, st. 28.

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that has weight will be upborne."[1] This gathering and piecing together of striking bits is peculiarly characteristic of Spenser. Still following Tasso Spenser brings his traveller ~~is brought~~ to the brink of a stream. The hint of idleness, and the vivid descriptions of lakes in two previous cantos give him material for a new creation. Yet another suggestion enters here and the fountain of laughter[2] finds a development in Phaedrea's unseemly mirth.

To return to the general parallel, the visit of Guyon[3] to the Cave of Mammon, ~~though~~ unlike in purpose to the visit of Charles and Ubaldo to the subterranean abode of the hermit,[4] yet constitutes a similar type of adventure, and the richness of the hermit's home might well have suggested that of Mammon. The respective homes of Armida and Acrasia are reached by a long voyage in a magic boat. Guyon has a ferryman,[5] but Charles and Ubaldo are awaited by a Maid[6] with a little vermeil-prowed vessel, that floats light as a leafy bough. Here again Spenser has borrowed detail for Phaedria's painted boat, decked with boughs.[7] For the voyage itself both poets are indebted to the classics, Spenser more extensively, Tasso more literally.[8] The bowers of Bliss are the same in their Court of Love setting.

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1 Ger. Lib. c. X, st. 61-62.

2 Ibid c. XV, st. 56-57. The symbolism of the name recalls Plato.

3 F. Q. Bk. II, c. VI.

4 Ger. Lib. c. 14, st. 36-79.

5 F. Q. Bk. II, c. 11, st. 4.

6 Ger. Lib. c. XV, st. 111.

7 F. Q. Bk. II, c. VI, st. 4, line 6; st. 2, lines 8-9.

8 Ger. Lib. c. XIV, st. 42-43 are an almost literal rendering of the landing of Aeneas' boat in Vergil.

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Spenser repaints the fountain with its laughing, bathing nymphs. The song of the bird in Tasso,[1] is resung by an unknown person in Spenser.[2] Armida is born again in Acrasia as she lies with her lover upon a bed of flowers. Spenser has done more than reproduce Tasso; he has added to the heavy atmosphere of languorous sweetness. The warmth, the melting will, the dolce far niente is a psychic seduction of mind, body, and soul.

The foregoing constitutes Spenser's greatest debt to Tasso. There are, however, many scattered passages which re-echo the great Italian, and there are many incidents that probably go back to him, but Spenser's habit of crossing one character, incident, or motif with another from a different source demands alert and constant recognition.[3]

Spenser's use of magic is a romance feature which merits discussion. Here he builds effectively but on comparatively simple lines. In itself, the creation of a phantom image, that which appears in the guise of a beautiful woman, is a common folk motif, which has taken its place in romance, along with magicians, sorceresses, magic castles, gardens, and cars drawn through the air by gryphons. Spenser has elaborated these motifs in a way that seems comparatively independent, although many faint parallels may be pointed out.

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[1] Ibid., C. XV, st. 14-15.

[2] F.Q., Bk. II, c. XII, st. 74-75. The theme is the conventional "Cape diem".

[3] The flight and perils of Una, Amoret, and Florimel, present shifting yet unmistakable parallels to Angelica in Or. Fu., and to Erminie in Ger. Lib. and may even go back to Boiardo's Orlando Innamorata.

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Archimago draws his name from Ismeno, who proudly proclaims himself the Syrian Archimage.[1] Idraotes in his manipulation of his niece, the enchantress Armida, carries some suggestion of Archimago's use of Duessa. The latter appeals to the chivalry and protection of the Christian champion as does Armida.[2] Archimago, has also been compared to the friar of Orlando Furioso,[3] both magicians in the guise of holy men. His first and second meetings with Una have some features in common with the friar's encounters with Angelica, but the latter occasion affords a good example of Spenser's transference of suggestion, for it corresponds in situation much more nearly to the attack made by the old man upon Florimel when she too in her flight reaches the sea-shore.[4] Twice the phantom of fair Clorinda[5] is made to appear in order to deceive a knight, but this has no resemblance to the phantom of either Una or Florimell.[6] The magic horn of Arthur's squire[7] the magic spear of Britomart,[8] the magic armor,[9] the shield of Arthur,[10] and the girdle of Florimel all have their counterparts both in romance and in the

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1 Ger. Lib. c. X, st. 19, 30, 54.

2 Ibid c. IV, st. 20.

3 V. Dodge (Sp. cit.) O. F. c. II, st. 12, 13; c. VIII, st. 29-30.

4 Bk. III, c. VIII, st. 20-30. Dodge points out a better parallel in Malagigi's Rinaldo, 1, 31.

5 Ger. Lib., c. VII, st. 99.

6 Warton has noted Atlante's palace (Or. Fu. XII) where every knight is deceived by the image of his mistress.

7 Or. Fu. c. XX, st. 87-88; c. XXXIII, st. 125, st. 58; Ger. Lib. c. VII, st. 82; cf. XVI, st. 29.

8 Or. Fu., c. VIII, st. 17.

9 Ger. Lib., c. XVII.

10 Or. Fu., c. II, st. 55-56.

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literary epics.

Viewed from the standpoint of completeness the discussion is hopelessly inadequate to convey the extent of Spenser's borrowings, his dissection, and superimposition of materials. Only volumes of detail, with cross tabulations could effect such a task. Viewed from the standpoint of Spenser's use of one literary genre, the extent of the discussion constitutes a digression. The mass of material rather than the method is at fault. His mode of adapting a theme, of creating a story, of developing a single episode from romance material has been discussed. His appropriation of the same material from the literary epic and his manner of handling it has likewise been briefly treated. The whole effort has been directed toward showing not what Spenser's sources were, and the degree of his indebtedness, but rather how widely he drew and with what freedom he adapted, that later it may be proved his method was directed by fixed literary principles.

Nearest in character to romance is the mythelogic history employed by Spenser.

In the letter to Sir Walter he wrote:- "which for that I conceived should be most plausible and pleasing being colored with an historical fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read rather for variety of matter then for profite of the example, I chose the historye of King Arthure, as most fitte for the excellency of his person, being made famous by many mens former workes, andalso furthest from the daunger of envy, and suspition of the present time."

This statement implies a concession to critical demand rather than personal interest on the part of the poet. The actual composition bears this out.

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The political allegory of the Faerie Queene can scarcely be regarded as history. It forms only a part of a great artistic scheme, and was intended to add dignity, weight, and interest to the work. It was an appeal to the taste of the more serious, a medium of compliment to the great, and arounding out of Spenser's epic world, rather than an account of the past or record for the future.

The action of Arthur shows no conformity to his prototype. Spenser centres his historic material in his genealogies.

He drew from Hardyng,[1] Holinshed,[2] and Geoffrey of Monmouth.[3] This fact is practically established by the use of names which appear in one and not another of these works, and the closeness with which he at times has followed the individual authors.[4] There remain, however, minor disagreements of names and facts which possibly point to other sources.[5] On the other hand, Spenser has observed his usual freedom in combining authorities, and the legendary character of the material employed lends itself readily to the incorporation of imaginative detail.

When Una besought Arthur "his name and nation tell", he gave in replied[6] in facts of romance crossed by a classic suggestion and

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1 The Chronicle of John Hardyng, 1464.

2 Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland. 6 vol. (Lond. 1578)

3 Historia Regum Britanniae (1147). Spenser also possibly knew William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglorum, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, and Stow's Annales.

4 For detailed account, see Notes: Kitchin's Ed. of F. Q., Bk. II.

5 All of the works cited and others have been examined in connection with this discussion. But it has been definitely decided that the passages in question are too extraneous in relation to the body of the work, to demand more detailed investigation.

6 F. Q., Bk. I, c. IX, st. 2-7.

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Spenser's own imaginative creation. He knew neither his lineage nor his sire, for at his birth he was delivered to a "Fary knight"

"To be upbrought in gentle thewes and martiall might."

The "Fary knight" exists only in Spenser's world. But the knight was Timon,[1] "th'expertist man alive", and our minds must sweep through time and space to Greece, the mother of learning. Merlin was his guardian, who -" - - - had charge my discipline to frame,
and tutors nouriture to oversee."

In this matter Spenser follows pure romance, for Uther-Pendragon swore to give his yet unborn son to Merlin to be reared by him as a condition attendant upon the latter's securing him access to Ygerne, the wife of the Duke of Tintagel.[2] (Cornwall or Gorlois).

As Arthur turned the pages of Briton Moniments[3] and read his ancestry, he read the account common to all early chronicles with a few additions from Spenser. For in recording the wonders of nature which yet bear witness of the race of giants the poet adds, most probably from Celtic lore:[4]

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1 A famous philosopher of the Skeptic School - 279 B. C.

2 V. Merlin: Ed. Wheatly and Mead. E.E.T.S., vols. 10, 36, 112 ch. IV, pp. 76, 77, 78, 88-91 and Robt. of Gloucester. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells the story of Arthur's birth, but makes no mention of the promise to Merlin. Hardyng and Holinshed pass over the matter, with fewer words.

3 F. Q., II, c. X, 5-68.

4 Ibid, st. 11. This is undoubtedly a reference to one of the feats of Cuchulainn, the hero leap. The circumstances of its accomplishment are unknown to me. I find no hint of it in Camden, or in any of the sources accessible to me, which Spenser could have used. Cuchulainn underwent a period of training in Alba under the mighty Scathhac. While there he made the hero-leap on three notable occasions: once at the 'Bridge of the Cliff' (Cuchullin Saga; (Hull) p. 75) to reach the camp of Scathac; again to reach the place where Scathac taught her sons apart from the rest (p. 76); and third after the great battle

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"And eke that ample pit, yet far renownd
For the large leape which Debon did compell
Coulin to make, being eight lugs of ground,
Into the which retourning backe he fell." 4 (See p. 32)

The hero leap was one of the great feats of the Irish champion, and entered into many of the incidents of the Cuchulainn Saga. It was very possibly a story heard by Spenser, and since it was a striking incident, was inserted in the passage.

In his account of the wise dame Mertia and the "wholesome statutes to her husband brought" Spenser adds "Her many deemed to have been of the Fayes." This is a touch which fits the setting of the story and at the same time recalls the supernal wisdom of the fairy women so popular in Celtic tales.[1]

In the house of Alma too,

"Sir Guyon chaunst else on another booke,
That hight Antiquitee of Faery Land:
In which whenas he greedily did looke,
Th' ofspring of Elves and Faryes there he fond."

This genealogy, as is befitting, is pure fiction. Remembering the mythologic source of England's first race, from "Dioclesians fifty daughters shene",[2] Spenser goes back to the story of Prometheus, and makes the first man an Elf, with spirit of fire and "hart-strings of an aegle ryv'd". In the Garden of Adonis this first man found:

"A goodly creature, whom he deemd in mynd,
To be no earthly wight, but either spright
Or angell, th' authour of all woman kynd;
Therefore a Fay he her according hight,"

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with Aife, the ancient enemy of Scathach (p. 79). He received training in this feat from Scathach herself. Whether the sorceress was ever known as Debon, I have been unable to learn.

1 Other tokens of Celtic interests are the names Peridure (III, X, 44, 9); Labryde (I, 4, 21) and Una. See also III, X, 24; 7-8.

2 Holinshed corrects to daughters of Danaus.

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Other details are of magic and romance until he comes to William of Normandy, the lion of Neustria. He then follows history to the close. A clear reference to Henry VII, to the death of Prince Arthur, and to the succession of his brother Oberon, Henry VIII, and to the later accession of "fairest Tanaquill, Gloriane, Elizabeth, supplies a touch of the historic. The passage is a perfect Spenserian blend, wherein classic, biblical, romantic and historic suggestion, melt into pure fiction.

One more genealogy claims our attention, that of Britomart. Here Spenser follows historic events more closely although the passage closes with the mythic warrior queen, Angela.

This passage parallels the longer one in Ariosto, where in a vision her progeny pass before Bradamante at the tomb of Merlin.[1] The genealogies have really a double function in Spenser, they reproduce a feature of Ariosto's epic, and supply the place of the classic catalogues of armies and navies. History also serves the poet in supplying metaphor and simile.

Such is the character and extent of Spenser's use of history. His letter to Raleigh has given us the keynote to his attitude. A literary standard requires a modicum of historic association in an epic.[2] This demand is based upon two princi-

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[1] Or. Fu. c. III, st. XVI, - LXIV.

[2] Minturno: De Poeta: Bk. II, p. 92. History is necessary, a poet is mediocre who does not know "tempora, mores, instituta, initia, incrementa urbium, conditores ipsos, res gestas, regiones, locarum descriptionem, quaecunque de religione, de oraculis, de auspiciis, de homine, de animantibus, de stirpibus, de omni rerum natura exponuntur". Cf. Ibid, p. 98.

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ples, didacticism[1] and verisimilitude.[2] For history in the first function, Spenser has but little need since his epic is conceived in terms of an ethic philosophy, the principle of which are to be set forth by the action of his character. The second function does not belong exclusively to history, but is admirably exercised through that medium. Aristotle, Minturno, and Trissino advocate the use of familiar stories. Trissino says true names and actions have persuasion for they may be possible.[3]

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[1] Aeneas Silvius (See Woodward: Vitt. da Feltre, p. 150) tells us that excellence is to be welcomed as an aid in building up character, whether found in poet, historian, or philosopher. He quotes Cicero: (p. 152) "History - - - is the living witness of the past, the lamp of truth;" From this study, we "learn practical wisdom in affairs". Ibid. p. 128; Lionardi Bruni says; "From History, also, we draw our store of examples of moral precepts". Ibid, p. 106: Vergerius commends history on grounds of attractiveness and utility, as appealing both to "scholar and to the statesman". It is nearest to moral philosophy as a liberal art" in that its purpose is to teach men true freedom".

[2] Minturno (L'Arte Poetica, pp. 25-38). discusses at length the relation of history, poetry, and romance. The historian "narra le cose come sono auuenute"; the poet tells "non qual auuene, ma come possibil fu che o' uerèsimilmente, o necessariamente auuenisse"; the historian, as may be by time or certain measure restrained and lawful, the poet, free and irregular - "Laonde, la poesia e uia più nobil cosa dell' historia e piu eccellente. Conciosiacosa l'Poeta l'uniuersale, il general discriua." Nevertheless the true epic "grounds its imitation upon matter which holds some degree of truth, or more exactly, that is received as truth." (He cites the coming of Aeneas to Italy, which, while not an established fact, is accepted as true.) The writer of romance on the contrary "with no regard for the truth feigns what never was" as the love and madness of Orlando. He adds (p. 30) that tragedy also turns back to the truth, but it may add new things.

[3] De La Poetica. Div. 5, p. 28.

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Even the radical Castelvetro holds that in the case of a royal hero some historic background is necessary to verisimilitude.[1] Scaliger states that poetry differs from history only in verse, and that the epic poet goes to history for his themes.[2]

However All of these critics, however, admit the freedom of imaginative invention, and accord full liberty to the creative genius of the poet. Scaliger declares that poems are made from a changed and adorned history, "certe alia facie", and that Homer and Lucan have used this method.[3] Castelvetro asserts that although the story of the hero is known to history it is only summarily and not particularly so known, and the poet may show his genius in the manipulation of things known to have occurred.[4]

Trissino says that although truth should be preserved in well-known incidents, otherwise matter should be presented as it ought to be; herein lies the difference between history and poetry, that "the art of the poet is to make story, hence he is free to invent but must observe verisimilitude".[5] Minturno points out that a certain amount of feigning is permitted even in history,[6] and that the great demand is not for historic but philosophic truth.[7] Aristotle's dictum that the very essence of poetry is invention need not be repeated here.

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1 Opere Varie Critiche, p. 81.

2 Poetices, Bk. 1, c. 2.

3 Ibid, p. 5. "Sic multa Lucano ficta: Patriae imago, quae see offerat Caesari: excitam ab inferis animam, atque alia Talia."

4 Poetique d'Aristotile: p. 116.

5 De La Poetica: Div. 5, p. 98.

6 De Poeta: Bk. I, pp. 25-26.

7 L'Arte Poetica: Bk. I, p. 22; cf. Puttenham: Arte of Eng. Poesie, p. 32. Cf. Minturno above.

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The above citations afford ample reason that Spenser should feel it necessary to include historic motifs in his epic, and also explain why, once being included, they should be handled with freedom.

Sidney's attitude in the matter seems to approach most nearly to Spenser's own ideas. He quotes Aristotle[1] that poetry is "more philosophical and studiously serious than history", because it deals with the "universal consideration and history with the particular".[2] He says, "the poet doth so far exceed him (the historian) as he is to frame his example to that which is most reasonable, be it warlike, politic, or private matters".[3] Moreover, "a feigned example hath as much power to teach as a true example". Indeed, poetry teaches better than history, for it "ever setteth virtue so out in her best colors, making Fortune her well-waiting handmaid, that one must needs be enamored of her".[4] All other arts and sciences fall short of absolute fact; "But the poet, - - - never affirmeth. The poet never maketh any circles about your imagination to conjure you to believe for true what he writeth.[5] He citeth not authorities of other histories, but even for his entry called the sweet Muses to inspire him with a good invention;[6] - - - "If then a man can arrive at that child's-age to know that the poet's per-

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[1] Defense of Poesy: p. 18.

[2] Ibid. p. 18.

[3] Ibid p. 20.

[4] Ibid p. 21.

[5] Ibid: See also p. 13 where Sidney makes a sharp attack on the unfounded claim of history to truth, and its small ethic value as compared to poetic universality.

[6] Ibid p. 35.

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sons and doings are but pictures of what should be, and not stories of what have been, they will never give the lie to things not affirmatively but allegorically and figuratively written - - -, "in poesy looking but for fiction, they shall use the narration but as an imaginative ground-plot of a profitable invention".[1] Here he adds that the use of historic names but adds "liveliness to the picture".

In the light of Sidney's observations we can readily understand the slight importance attached by Spenser to the historic element of the Faerie Queene, and the patent lack of responsibility in preserving the integrity of passages actually drawn from history. In Sidney's theory and Spenser's practice is solved the question of truth versus fiction, which had long exercised the critical world. These two men, united by ties of common culture and interests found a higher truth in philosophic reason and ethic justice than in mere authenticity of fact. The Faerie Queene bore on her breast the shield of allegory, but she won the long struggle which gave a place in the world to imaginative literature.

In this discussion of literary genres history has been placed after romance as more nearly allied to it in character. Had the degree of Spenser's indebtedness motivated the order, the classics would have followed romance.

Lest there be a misapprehension, it must be distinctly restated here that this discussion is limited to the use of classic material as a literary genre. The critical principles of classic writers and the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle enter

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[1] Defense of Poesy: p. 36.

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other problems of the dissertation.

There is a tendency in writing of Spenser to slip into metaphor. The sum of his writings is so vast, the matter is so varied, that the mind despairs of logical analysis, and seeks rather to convey an impression through figures. If we have found the warp and woof of his work to be of romance, it is yet shot with threads drawn from every source of literature. Threads of gold, and silver, and brilliant color are woven into the great tapestry. His richest source of ornament is classic literature. If we have wondered that he drew so little from history, the wonder deepens that he has drawn so much from the classics. Abundant as is its use, and few are the consecutive stanzas which carry no classic allusion, this material does not once become an integral part of the structure. Its function is decorative.

The specific applications of this general function are several. Classic material supplies a never failing profusion of rhetorical figures. It gives incident, episode and formal motif. It extricates from structural difficulties,[1] and affords the recognized "divine intervention".[2] It exercises a certain influence on style. Last, in his use of the classics Spenser satisfies two demands of Renaissance criticism, the one for a display of learning on the part of the poet, the other, the prime necessity of following Latin and Greek authors.

The matter of figures must be reserved for discussion

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[1] See the story of the birth and rearing of Belphoebe and Amoret.

[2] F.Q., Bk. I, c. V, st. XIII. The wounded Sansloy is rendered invisible by a cloud cf. Iliad, Bk. XX, ll. 321 ff; Bk. V, ll. 342 ff; cf. also the romance element in this, Lybeaus Disconus, lines 1963 sq. Ritson: v. II

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under the section devoted to tehnique. It may only be observed here that the readiness and frequency with which classic similes present themselves bear strong witness to the poet's saturated knowledge of mythology and classic history. The formal motifs are catalogues, under-world journeys, magic fountains, and the perilous voyage of Guyon.

It has been pointed out that although they are a direct imitation of Ariosto,[1] the elaborate genealogies of Spenser correspond in motif to the catalogues of Homer[2] and Vergil.[3] The briefer genealogic data as of Lucifera:—

> "Of griesly Pluto she the daughter was, [4]
> And sad Proserpina, the queen of hell."

and of Cymochles and Pyrochles:—

> " - - - - - - - both which arre
> The sonnes of old Acrates and Despight.
> Acrates sonne of Phlegeton and Jarre.
> But Phlegeton is sonne of Herebus and night;
> But Herebus sonne of Aeternitie is hight." [5]

constitute a sort of classic formula[6] which, in its recurrent use, is not without stylistic effect. The introduction of these passages acts as a stop. This staying effect, which precludes all idea of haste, and allows the mind to turn to distant allusion, creates an atmosphere at once dignified and cultural.

Spenser's catalogue of trees[7] is a motif with such varied

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1 Cf. Aeneid, Bk. 752 sq. Anchises points out his descendants to Aeneas.

2 Iliad, II, lines 480 sq.

3 Aeneid, Bk. VII, line 640 sq.

4 F. Q., II, XX, 1-2.

5 Ibid., II, IV, 41.

6 Cf. Odyssey, III, line 190; l. 202. (Merry's Ed.); Bk. 1, lines 180, 181; Bk. XX, line 148 - - Iliad, VII, ll. 8-9; IV, line 456; Aeneid: Bk. II, ll. 341-2; Bk. II, ll. 318-19; (con)

7 on following page

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affiliations that it could be reasonably assigned to any one of three sources. Its nearest, and probable progenitor is a passage in Chaucer.[1] Its ancestry, however, is found in classic epic, and a counterpart exists in romance.[2]

Vergil[3] gives us the fir, the holm, the "yielding oak", and "huge, wild ash trees; a little later he adds the "shady holm", and "fertile olive". Homer tells of the fragrant cedar and sandalwood, of the alder, the poplar, and sweet scented cypress, where rest the birds after long flight.[4] And more near yet to Spenser he tells of the sky-reaching pine, long seasoned, very dry, "light for sailing".

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con.
Bk. III, lines 613-14; Bk. V, line 121-23; Bk. V, lines 491-92.

(Note 7 on preceding page.)
F. Q., Bk. I, c. 1, st. 8-9.

1
The matter has been treated exhaustively by Warton; (Ob. F. Q V. I, Sect. V, pp. 189 sq.) who refers Spenser's passage directly to Chaucer:

"The bilder ook, and eek the hardy asshe;
The piler elm, the cofre unto careyne;
The boxtree piper; holm to whippes lasshe;
The sayling firr; the cipres, deth to pleyne;
The sheter ew, the asp for shaftes pleyne;
The olyve of pees, and eek the drunken vyne
The victor palm, the laurer to devyne."
The Parlement of Foules: ll. 176-

He cites however as classic precedent: Ovid (Met. 10, 90)182. Seneca Oedip. line 532 ; Lucan 3, 440 ; Statius Theb. 6, 98 ; Claudian R. Proserp. 2, 107 Cf. Jortin: Remarks on Spenser's Poems: pp. 3-5; Kitchin's Ed. of F. Q. Bk. I. He notes also the passage from the Squire of Low Degree, cited below, and Chaucers satirization of these catalogues as they appeared in the romances; Knight's Tale: line 2932 sq.
Note in Chaucer's "sayling firr" a parallel to Homer's "sayling pine".

2
V. The Squire of Low Degree: Ritson: v. III, pp. 146-7, lines 31-40. See also F. Q. Bk. II, c. VII. This passage bears all the earmarks of a mediaeval Herbal.

3
Aeneid, Bk. VI, lines 179-182.

4
Odyssey Merry's Ed. Bk. V., lines 59-61;

"Ὕλη δὲ σπέος ἀμφὶ πεφύκει τηλεθόωσα
κληθρη τ' αἰγειρός τε, καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος"

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The underworld journey is a classical motif, deservedly rendered famous by the treatment of Homer and his copyist Vergil. Spenser's handling of the theme is peculiarly characteristic. The conception is classic, the execution Spenserian and of the Renaissance. Instead of one broad, full, and centralized vision, three times we are swept to the shadowy abodes of the underworld. For detail the poet seems to turn with equal facility to Homer and Vergil,[1] and, (the confession must be made), in one account to Tasso or to Boiardo.

The sprite despatched by Archimago arrives on a scene where the stage has been set by Vergil.[2] Without the double gates of the house of Sleep, lurks Care; within the ante room are Sleep and Dreams. Spenser here curiously misses the symbolism of the gates of ivory and horn,[3] for he overlays the latter with the silver of rococo art. This is the first touch of a heightened elaboration which creates an atmosphere slow, brooding, and sensuous, rather than classic.

Morpheus is "drowned deepe"

"In drowsie fit - - - :"

- - -

"And more, to lulle him in his slumber soft,
A trickling streame from high rock tumbling downe,
And ever drizling raine upon the loft,
Mixt with a murmuring winde, much like the sowne

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1 V. Bks. I and II of F. Q. edited by Kitchin. Most of the citations here and many others have been previously made by Prof. Kitchin. This investigation has been made independently and for a different purpose, and while repetition of some points is necessary, I have no desire to encroach upon the excellent work of Prof. Kitchin.

2 Aeneid: Bk. VI, 26 ff;

3 Ibid., Bk. VI, line 895 ff; Homer Bk. XIX, line 562 ff., F. Q. Bk. I, c. I, st. 40 and 41.

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Of swarming bees, did cast him in a swowne;
No other noyse, nor peoples troublous cryes,
As still are wont t' annoy the walled towne,
Might there be heard: but carelesse Quiet lyes,
Wrapt in eternall silence farre from enimyes."
F. Q., I, i, 41.

The visit of Duessa to Night,[1] and thence to the home of Pluto is another passage of adapted classicism strongly colored with symbolism. Most of the material is mere commonplace which could easily have been gathered from various sources. One stanza alone is distinctly[2] Vergilian. Here the poet describes the flaming Phlegeton, the bootless cries of the damned, and the house of punishment beside the flood:

"The house of endlesse paine is built thereby,
In which ten thousand sorts of punishment
The cursed creatures doe eternally torment"

Spenser does a little creative work in shaping mythology to fit his rhyme and circumstance. When Tantalus[3] is found hanging by his chin, and the joints of Typhoeus[4] are stretched upon a gin, one strongly surmises, not an obscure source, but an exigeant rhyme which refuses to sacrifice two previous excellent lines. Again, when Night seeks Aesculapius in the realm of Pluto, rather than at the table of the gods amidst the clouds of Olympus, the reader senses a fitness of scene and an economy of design not attainable in strict adherence to mythologic fact. Furthermore Spenser is but exercising an assured poetic privilege in thus bending minor facts to his invention.

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[1] F. Q. I, V, 7-13.

[2] Ibid., st. 33; cf. Ae., Bk. VI, l. 550 ff. This passage is not noted by Prof. Kitchin, but the borrowing is direct.

[3] F. Q., I, V, 35.

[4] Typhoeus has been frequently confused with Typhon. His real punishment is confinement in the workshop of Hephaestus under Aetna.

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Guyon's adventures are largely motivated by the action of the like quest in Tasso.[1] The cave of Mammon was possibly suggested by the heaped up wealth of the hermit's home in the bosom of the earth.[2] Spenser allegorized the situation into a test for Guyon's special virtue, Temperance, added some effective ~~allegoric~~ figures and colored the whole with classic circumstance.[3] The description of the "Gardin of Proserpina" is worthy of note

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1 F. Q., Bk. I, cantos VI, VII, XII. Accompanied by his monitor, Guyon sets out to find the bower of Acrasia. His experience with the handmaid of Acrasia, the magic boat and the island of Pleasure, is parallelled by that of Rinaldo himself. His visit to the subterranean home of Mammon, his subsequent journey and experiences in the Bower of Acrasia parallel the visit of Chasles and Ubaldo to the home of the hermit, their journey, and like experiences at the home of Armida. (Cf. supra pp. 30-33.

2 It has been pointed out that here Spenser possibly owes something to Boiardo. A recent examination of the original confirms the possibility, but does not establish the fact. In Boiardo's account of the home of Margan the Fay, there are many features common to Spenser's Cave of Mammon. The hero passes through long underground passages. There is a garden with fruit and flowers of gold and silver. There is a beautiful woman as mistress of the place. A fiend starts up and follows the hero. Above all there is the distinct allegoric suggestion of the knight's contempt for wealth, which saves him both in Boiardo and Spenser. (Or. Innam: Bk. I, c.5; Bk. II, c. 8.) There are moreover other features which would point to Spenser's knowledge of Boiardo. In a story of friendship Prasilde, meeting the gaoler on the outside, takes the place of Irolde in prison. There is a river of laughter, an Isle of Pleasure, and a Pallazzo Gioioso, besides a few names common to both which I have not found elsewhere. There is not, however, in any of the features cited that distinctive quality which would mark them definitely as Spenser's sources. A close study of phraseology and conjunctive circumstance would be required to establish the influence. Such a study has no place in this discussion.

3 Note especially the classic type of Mammon; the golden chain between heaven and hell (Homer; Iliad c. 8, 19).

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as a study of method. It is a classical idea,[1] developed from the material of a mediaeval herbal, which, through absolute observance of decorum, attains a striking atmospheric effect of gloom:

"Not such as earth out of her fruitfull woomb
But direfull deadly black, both leafe and bloom
Fitt to adorne the dead and deck the drery toombe.

There mournfull cypresse grew in greatest store,
And trees of bitter gall, and heben sad,
Dead sleeping poppy, and black hellebore,
Cold coloquintida, and tetra mad,
Mortall samnitis, and cicuta bad."
F. Q., II, VII, 51-2.

It is this power of creating an atmosphere, brief and intermittent though it may be, which reveals the true influence of the classics upon Spenser. The end is attained in the classics by telling epithet and swift brevity, in Spenser by convergent detail. The result is the same.

The voyage of Guyon, displays the same admixture of romance and classicism.[2] Here too Spenser twice paints atmosphere. The luring song of the mermaids is heard:

"With that the rolling sea, resounding soft,
In his big base them fitly answered,
And on the rocke the waves breaking aloft,
A solemn meane unto them measured,
The whiles sweet Zephyrus lowd whistèled
His treble, a straunge kinde of harmony;"[3]

The reader is detached from circumstance, lifted into the poet's world, where he too hears the sirens' song.

A sudden fog descends. They know not whither to turn, when:

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[2] His sources here are Tasso and Homer.

[3] F. Q., Bk. II, c. 12, st.

[1] See 45(b)

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1
Kitchin gives a reference to the Grove of Persephone, found on the borders of the Ocean-stream. Its "dark poplars and seed-shedding willows" have little in common with Spenser's garden. (Od., Bk.X, line 1509 sq.) Warton gives plausibly a reference to Claudian. De Raptu Proserpinae, L.II,v.290.

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"Suddenly an innumerable flight
Of harmefrll fowles, about them fluttering, cride
- - - -
- - - -

Even all the nation of unfortunate
And fatall birds about them flocked were,
Such as by nature men abhorre and hate;
The ill-faste owle, deaths dreadfull messengere,
The hoars night-raven, trump of dolefull drere,
The lither-winged batt, dayes enimy,
The ruefull strich, still waiting on the bere,
The whistler shrill, that who so heares doth dy,
The hellish harpyes, prophets of sad destiny." 1
F. Q. II, XII, 36

Here we wait, and the confused sense of impending and unknown danger is as absolute as when Odysseus leads his men to the shadowy borders of the great Ocean-stream.[1]

The enchanted fountain is a part of the folk-lore of antiquity, when every spring and stream had its presiding nymph or god. Thence it passed into literature. Spenser has found the prototypes for two in Ovid.[2] A third he has drawn directly from Tasso.[3]

The classics have supplied the episodes of Venus' hunt for Cupid,[4] of Fraudubio,[5] of the Wedding of the Thames,[6] the inci-

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1 Od., Bk. XI, 1-24.

2 F. Q., I, c. VII, 4-17; cf. (Ovid - Met. 15, 17); F. Q., II, ii, 1-11; cf. (Ov. Met. 5, 618).

3 F. Q., II, XII, 60-78; cf. Ger. Lib. C. 15, st. 55-66.

4 F. Q. Bk. III, c. VI, 11-28; See also Moschus: Epos Δρακτης. [Jortin]. Prol. of Tasso's Aminta [Upton]; The Masque shown at Kenilworth.

5 F. Q., I, ii, 30-44. Cf. Or. Fu. c. VI, st. 26; Ger. Lib. c. XIII, st. 41-42; Ovid: Metamorphoses shows a number of similar transformations.

6 F. Q., Bk. IV, c. XI, st. 8-53. The idea is classic. The mythology is drawn according to Warton from Natalis Comes' (Noel Conti: D. 1582:) Treatise on Mythology. The list of the nymphs is also to be found in Hesiod's Theogory (243 sq.), and ~~in Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum: See also Homer: Iliad XVIII, line 39 sq.~~ the author tells

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dents of Proteus' and Malinger's changes,[1] of the dance of the nymphs,[2] of the loves of Venus and Adonis[3] portrayed upon the arras. They have given the underlying suggestion for the Garden of Adonis,[4] the Temple of Venus,[5] the story of the Amazons,[6] and for the punishment of Mirabella.[7] From the same source come the characters of Belphoebe, Talus, Gelosy, the more incidental figures of Genius, Astraea, Aegaera, Ate, Adicia, Furor, ~~and~~ Occasion, and the host of nymphs, fauns, and satyrs.[8]

The foregoing citation embraces the most obvious features of classicism in Spenser. It does not include passages quoted or paraphrased, and shorter phraseological parallels. For these the reader must be referred to more detailed studies.[9]

It is impossible to read the Faerie Queene from page to page without being impressed with the extent and familiarity of Spenser's classic knowledge. If we except the profound philosophic influence of Plato and Aristotle, the classics have appealed to Spenser most strongly from the story or mythologic side. Hesiod, Homer, and Ovid seem to be his favorite sources, but the breadth of his knowledge may easily challenge such a

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in Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum; See also Homer; Iliad, c. XVIII, line 39 sq. The names of the rivers as the author tells us are drawn from Holinshed. The whole is undoubtedly the lost Epithalamion Thamesis(mentioned by Spenser in a letter to Harvey) readapted for insertion in his great work.

1 F. Q., III, VII, 41; cf. Od. Bk. 4, l. 384 sq; F.Q. V, IX, 16-19

2 Ibid., VI, X, 10-14.

3 Ibid., III, XI, 28-46.

4 Ibid., III, VI, 30-53.

5 Ibid., IV, 10, 11-29.

6 Ibid., V, C's IV, V, VII.

7 Ibid., VI, VIII, 17-30.

8 It must be observed that while these figures are common in romance, their origin was classic.

9 Warton: Ob. on the F. Q. ch. 3; Jortin: Remarks on Spenser's Poems; Todd: Ed. of Spenser; Reidner: Spenser's Belesenheit; (con.)

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conclusion as empiric. The earlier critics point out references which include almost the whole field of Greek and Latin literature. Recent scholarship discredits the assumption that similarity of detached thought and phrasing necessarily posits an interdependence. Hence later critics may with no depreciation of the poet's great learning logically prescribe a narrower circle of sources.

However, the evident familiarity with which denizens of the antique world throng Spenser's pages, the ease with which classic simile and metaphor glide from his pen require some explanation. It is easily found. Spenser has not drawn his knowledge solely from originals, but from a contemporary literature,[1] which, following the same critical principle has sought to enrich its pages with classic borrowing and allusion. A second explanation is found in Spenser's own type of mind. He possessed to a marvellous degree the faculty of absorption. He assimilated vast stores of material which he gave back in new forms and combirations. These two causes account for much that has puzzled commentators. The very critics who have attributed the widest knowledge to Spenser, eagerly point out minor deviations from alleged sources. In view of the popularity of the classics in the Renaissance, such errors could be easily due to a secondary source. In the richly stored, even crowded mind of the poet such a slight confusion of fact could easily occur.

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con.
Miss Sawtelle: The sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology.

[1] Warton points out that Spenser's treatment of the fugitive Love is far nearer to the Preface of Tasso's Aminta than to the original Moschus. He also points out the poet's indebtedness to Natalis Comes.

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He wrote from a full mind, and not from the indexed library of reference cards. Again the poet deliberately sought to re-create rather than reproduce.

The keynote of Spenser's use of classic material is freedom. As he has bent the ethic virtues of Aristotle to portray a standard of Christian morality, so he moulds classic scene and incident to the sensuous exuberance of the Renaissance. He has absorbed classic matter and Renaissance atmosphere, and the former appears as jewels in the rich setting of the latter. The world of mythology was to Spenser a real world. To him the ocean was the domain of Neptune, and Proteus was the shepherd of its finny flocks. The coming of the dawn was the rising of Aurora from the bed of gray Tithonus. The sun was the fiery car of Phoebus. Venus was the incarnation of love; Cupid was its masterful spirit. Beauty was the symbol of goodness. Classicism became a habit of thought, and thence passed into expression.

With such a richness of background it was but a step to the creation of his own mythology.

"Faire Thyamis, the daughter of Labryde"[1] might well have haunted the vales of Thessaly, where her lover Therion surely belonged. Her story is but a variant of the classic fate of nymphs. A search for the earlier history of fair Thyamis, reveals only a river in Epirus which bears her name, and an obscure character in Boiardo's Orlando Innamorato. The true source lies in Spenser's invention.

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[1] F. Q. Bk. I, c. IV, st. 21. The name Labryde is to be found so far as I know, only in a tale of the Irish Celts. In spoken form it would be Lowry or Lavery. It is possible that it came under Spenser's eye in a written form and was adopted by him.

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The beautiful story of Chrysogone's conception through the rays of the sun, and the subsequent birth of Belphoebe and Amoret is Spenser's most artistic creation of mythology. The poet has explained in such detail his own idea of the fertilizing quality of the sun's rays,[1] that there is little need for further comment.[2] As a nature myth it is fully as plausible as the story in which Jove, as a shower of golden rain, descended in the lap of the imprisoned Danae. Indeed, the whole story in the truth, grace, and delicacy of its imaginative quality has a ring of classic versimilitude.

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[1] F. Q. Bk. III, c. VI, st. 3 ff.

[2] Upton and Todd have both made the story the subject of learned discussion. The former refers the suggestion to Sannagarro's De Partu Virginis, L, ii, 372, - and to the general spiritual quality of fire and light. The latter cites the Liber Festivalis (Printed by Caxton, fol. 1483) in which the birth of the Virgin is compared to the onyx which when the sun shines upon it, opens and receives a drop of heaven's dew. It closes. After nine months it opens and out falls a stone of the same kind. V. Todd's Ed. of Spenser. Vol. IV, pp. 447-448.

In this connection I wish to call attention to a few lines from the metrical romance, King Alisaunder: V. 1, Weber. The following passage is not offered as a possible source, but as evidence for the common existence of the idea of conception through the rays of the sun:

"Listneth now for the nones.
In shynyng of the sonne, whan Marche blaweth,
The addres upward hem thraweth,
And to-cleueth wombelyng,
Ayeynes the sonne shynyng;
And conceyueth of the sonne, veire,
By nature of the wynde and eyre;
And yif of fele hiwe is the eyre,
So shullen the stones ben, in veyre;
Swich is this addres kyndlyng,
Preciouse stones withouten lesyng,
Jacynkte, piropes, crisolites
Safyres, smaragdes, and margites."

Part II, ch. 3, line 5671 ff.

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Spenser is again happy in his invention when he adds as a preliminary to his Chaucerian borrowing,[1] the story of Agape and her three sons. Their rhythmic and serial names, Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond savour rather of the copiousness of the Renaissance than the restraint of the classics. But the idea that the life and vigor of one warrior-brother should, upon his death, pass into the next, is a poetic conception which carries the flavour of genius, and the idea is so plausible that it carries a hint of familiarity, which it has been impossible to place.

The story of Marinell[2] is another of Spenser's clever linkages between the world of classic mythology and his own world of Faerye. The birth of this famous knight of an earthly father and the "black-browd Cymoent", daughter of great Nereus, opens the way for the most splendid pageantry in the whole poem. When it is recalled that the Epithalamion Thamesis was one of Spenser's earlier poems, and was most probably re-adapted in metre and matter for use in the Faerie Queene, it must be clear that the birth of Marinell is a cleverly devised structural unit, which has as its objective the solution of the Florimel story, and the introduction of a classic pageant.

It has been stated that the central suggestion of the Temple of Venus and the Garden of Adonis is classic. The ideas of teeming life, self-generation, and fertility are as purely classic as are the deities themselves.

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1 F. Q., IV; the Legend of Friendship is supposedly the Squire's unfinished tale of Cambalus and Canace.

2 Ibid, Bk. III, c. IV, st. XII ff.

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Spenser shows the discrimination of his classic knowledge in the two personalities which he has given to Genius.[1] In the Bower of Bliss[2] he is made the presiding genius of the place, a figure common in the classics. But, with his passage of the Garden of Adonis in mind, the poet carefully distinguishes the two figures:

"They in that place him Genius did call:
Not that celestiall Powre; to whom the care
Of life, and generation of all
That lives, perteines in charge particulare,
Who wondrous things concerning our welfare,
And straunge phantomes doth lett us ofteforesee
And ofte of secret ills bids us beware:
That is our selfe, whom though we do not see,
Yet each doth in himselfe it well perceive to bee:
F. Q., II, XII, 47.

The Genius described here is he who appears in the Garden of Adonis, where there are two gates:-

"By which both in and out men moten pas:
Th'one faire and fresh, the other old and dride:
Old Genius the porter of them was,
Old Genius, the which a double nature has.

He letteth in, he letteth out to wend
All that to come into the world desire:
A thousand thousand naked babes attend
About him day and night, which doe require
That he with fleshly weeds would them attire:
Such as him list, such as eternall fate
Ordained hath, he clothes with sinfull mire
And sendeth forth to liv in mortall state,
Till they agayn returne backe by the hinder gate."- [3]
F. Q., III, VI, 31-32.

The exquisite fitness of this scene with the primary conception of both Venus and Adonis as sources of life, even self-

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[1] V. Ob. on F. Q., pp. 113-117. Warton gives Spenser's sources for the two figures as Natalis Comes 4:3 and Cebes (Ver. 305)

[2] F. Q., II, XII, 47 sq.

[3] This passage is most probably the source of the most beautiful scene in Maeterlinck's Blue-bird.

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generating, is a matter that can scarcily be put into words. Blended in strange harmony with these ideas stand figures of mediaeval allegory. The whole is clothed in a Court of Love setting, replete with exuberance, richness, and grace.

No mere analysis of the suggestive thought, gleaned from mythology, science, the Bible, and other literature can convey the quality of the finished product. The passages in question must be read in the light of the above suggestions that the student may gain the true force of Spenser's art.

One phase of Spenser's use of the classics yet remains to be noted, his paraphrasing of passages and echoing of detached lines. The subject is too large for discussion here. References have already been given to more detailed discussions. The whole forms only a part of the great system of imitation which opened to the poet the literary wealth of the world. Spenser drew with equal freedom from early and late writers, and with almost equally scant acknowledgment of indebtedness. His method seems to be rather the result of a richly stored mind which freely gives forth again what it has received than a deliberate copying. The reproduction of single lines or phrases is to be considered with caution. When Spenser writes:

"That his great hart gan inwardly to swell"[1]

it is ~~doubtful~~ a question whether his mind reverts consciously to Homer's δστ repeated line; or, when he says of Diana:

"Whiles all her nymphes did like a girlond her enclose"[2]

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[1] F. Q., V., 5, 15.

[2] Ibid Bk. III, c. VI, st. 19.

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that he clearly recalls a like line in Ovid.[1]

Spenser's classicism has become through process of assimilation his own. Stripped of economy and reserve, clothed in the riches of his imagination it lives, a creation essentially Spenserian and of the Renaissance.

An effort has been made to show the pervasiveness with which classicism has penetrated Spenser's work, not entering the structure, but in thought, style, and ornament coloring the whole. This intensive use of the classics is a work of conscious art, based upon one of the strongest critical principles of the Renaissance, the necessity of imitating the classics, a principle urged, abetted, and practised by all critics and poets. That the poet had become subconsciously saturated with his material does not mitigate but intensify the original intention. To discuss the point fully here, would be to anticipate the conclusion in regard to the principles governing Spenser's whole use of varied literary genres, but we may cite as substantial authorities Aristotle, Horace, and Vida.

Aristotle, the clearest of critics, formulated his literary canon from the work of the early Greek writers. He pointed out as models the certain practices of certain writers and warned by the example of others. Thus selecting and rejecting, he reduced to rule the practice of Homer and the great dramatists. If he did not succinctly bid "Follow Homer", he yet said " - Homer, as in all else he is of surpassing merit, here too - whether from art or natural genius - seems to have happily dis-

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[1] See Upton's note (Ov. Met., iii, 180); E. K.'s Glosse to the S. C. would indicate conscious borrowings.

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cerned the truth."[1] The inference is as clear as the day.

Horace gives a command, clear and brief - "Vos exemplaria Graeca, / Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna."[2]

Vida is prolix in his teaching. He mingles command, exhortation and warning. He bids us adore Vergil, and follow in his steps,[3] but if he is not sufficient for our needs, we must read others of his age, and both by night and day draw sweetness from the noble fountains of the sacred poets.[4]

He urges that we learn invention from others and most of all consult the ancient Greeks. We must explore the Argive realms for rich jewels, and bring them home to deck the Latium shore. Behold, Vergil shines unashamed in spoils of great Homer. Let Greece rejoice to give her arts to Rome, and let the sons of Rome by labor and polished art excel all others.[5] Fired by his own words, his enthusiasm grows.[6]

"Hence on the ancients we must rest alone,
And make their golden sentences our own;
To cull their best expressions claims our cares
To form out notions and our styles on theirs.
See how we bear away their precious spoils,
And with the glorious dress enrich our styles,

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1 Poetics: C. VIII, 3.

2 Ars Poetica, line 268-9.

3 Vida: Ars Poetica, Bk. I, lines 208-11:
"Ergo ipsum ante alios animo venerare Maronem,
Atque unum sequere, utque potes, vestigia serva.
Qui si forte tibi non omnia sufficit unus,
Adde illi natos eodem quoque tempore vates."
This passage is of importance as indicating the beginning of the extravagant reverence accorded to Vergil in the Renaissance.

4 Ibid., lines 409 ff.
"Nulla dies tamen interea tibi, nulla abeat nox,
Quin aliquid vatum sacrorum e fontibus almis
Hauseris, ac dulcem labris admoveris amnem."

5 Ibid., Bk. II, lines 542-557.

6 Here the apt translation of Pitt is followed.

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Next the critic tempers his teaching with a warning to weigh the design;

"Steal with due care and meditate the prey",

change the order, give a new expression to the same thought, or graft a different sense upon the same words; thus the matter will grow more noble. But again the tide of enthusiasm swells:[1]

"Ergo agite o mecum securi accingite furtis
Una omnes, pueri, passimque avertite praedam."

and yet again sinks to warning - "Be not as he who scorns a foreign aid, who deigns not to follow where the ancients led, but trusting to himself alone finds quick oblivion."[2]

His conclusion strikes a more temperate note —

"I like a fair allusion nicely wrought,
When the same words express a different thought
And such a theft true critics dare not blame,
Which late posterity shall crown with fame;"

but -

"Some things your own invention must explore
Some virgin images untouched before." 3

As one of the earliest of Italian critics,[4] as a scholar and poet of note, and as the protege of three papal pontiffs,[5] Vida's influence on his own and the succeeding age was enormous. Even so late as the 18th century, Pope has placed him with Raphael and Vergil:

" - - - - - in Leo's golden days
- - - -
- - - -

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[1] Vida: Ars Poetica, Bk. III, ll. 218-232.

[2] Ibid., lines 243-255.

[3] Ibid., lines 257-266.

[4] De Arte Poetica: (1527). Probably completed some years earlier

[5] Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII.

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A Raphael painted and a Vida sung -
Immortal Vida, on whose honored brow
The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow;
Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
As next in place to Mantua, next in fame!"
Ess. on Crit, lines 697, 704-8

With all its growth and freedom the Renaissance held an enormous respect for authority. The fact that a principle had been written and printed gave it a substantial existence that insured recognition. The pillage of the ancients became a canon. Vida's teachings were repeated and extended through other critics. For us it suffices to say - the precepts of Vida are the practices of Spenser.

Spenser's catholic appreciation of literature and equally catholic spirit of appropriation has led him to enrich his pages with borrowings from the Bible. He displays the same curious intimacy with biblical phraseology and incident which characterizes his knowledge of the classics. Moreover much of his use of biblical material has the same unconscious quality noted in the classics, A biblical phrase completes a thought or rounds out a line as naturally as if created for the place, and seems rather an echo of an inward consciousness than an outward borrowing. Spenser's memory held the quality of a thought, the resonance of a phrase and the cadence of a line rather than the exact form and substance.

The wide range of Spenser's borrowings is a grateful comment on his knowledge of scripture. They extend from Genesis to Revelations and are inserted from the first to the last canto of the Faerie Queene. The wisdom and stateliness of the Old Testament seem to have appealed to him rather than the mysticism of the New, with the exception of the book of Revelations, always a favorite with poets. The Song of Solomon was evidently

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in his mind in the description of Belphoebe,[1] and again in the account of Serena when she fell into the hands of pirates.

It is practically only in the first book that any attempt is made to incorporate biblical material in the theme. In his letter to Raleigh Spenser explains almost crudely, that the armor brought by Una is "(- - the armor of a Christian man specified by Saint Paul, VI, Ephes.)" We have seen that this same armor was also an intrinsic part of the romance story which Spenser was using.[3] His adaptation, however, fits it to the character of the Red Cross Knight. For in the latter as Holiness has been studied another instance of Spenser's fusion of ideas,[4] the result of which is that the relations of the Red Cross Knight to the general scheme of classic virtues, and to the particular milieu of Book I, make him the representative both of the Platonic virtue Holiness and the Christian virtue of like name but other significance.

The biblical parallelism extends further than this. Una is Truth, the Christian (essentially the Protestant) Church. As the Church she is the bride of Christ, and her home is in the New Jerusalem. It is the mission of Christ to establish his church anew in Jerusalem; hence as the champion and espoused lover of Una, the Red Cross Knight is a type of Christ. That Spenser had all this in mind is made perfectly clear by his frequent use of scriptural phrasing.

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[1] F. Q., II, iii, 24, line 7; st. 28, lines 1-2.

[2] F. Q., VI, VIII, 42.

[3] V. supra, p. 9, note 1.

[4] V. Ch. III.

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In the knight's first battle, his contest with the dragon Errour, the description of the beast and her vomit of books is strongly reminiscent of Revelations.[1]

When Duessa rides forth with Orgoglio,[2] seated upon the seven headed beast, robed in gold and purple, she is the Roman Church, and also the "great whore - - - With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication."[3] The description of her beast, whose

" - - tayle was stretched out to wondrous length
That to the house of heavenly gods it raught."

is drawn from another passage:- "And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth."[4]

Within the castle of Orgoglio the Prince finds an altar:

"On which trew Christians blood was often spilt
And holy martyrs often doem to dye,
- - - -
Whose blessed sprites from underneath the stone
To God for vengeance cryde continually."
F. Q., I, VIII, 36.

The stanza is hardly more than a paraphrase of the following passage: "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"[5]

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1 Rev. IX, 8-10; Rev. 10, 9-10.

2 F. Q., I, VIII. The battle between Prince Arthur and Orgoglio

4 Rev., XII, 3.

5 Rev., c. VI, st. 9.

3 Rev., c. XVIII, 1-7.

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The Red Cross Knight's vision of the New Jerusalem[1] is another echo of Revelations, as is also his betrothal to Una.[2]

The above by no means exhausts biblical influence upon the first book of the Faerie Queene, but is typical both as to spirit and phrasing.

There are a few other instances of borrowed motif. Arthegall, as the champion of justice, makes use of the famous ruse of Soloman, in which he orders the child to be divided between rival claimants. In this case the person in dispute is a lady. The outcome is equally fortunate, for the true knight refuses to have his lady divided, and is awarded the prize by the astute judge. The incident constitutes one of the crudest passages in Spenser.[3]

When Guyon[4] returned from his visit to the Cave of Mammon, he fell in a swoon at the mouth of the cave. The palmer, from whom Guyon had been separated, suddenly:-

" - heard a voyce that called loud and cleare,
Come hether! come hether! O come hastily!"

On reaching the place where Guyon lay, he saw a young man sitting at his head.

The whole is Christian miracle. The voice is that which with trumpet sound bade John "Come up hither."[5] The angel is he

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1 F. Q., I, X, 53; cf. Rev. ch. XXI, 10.

2 Ibid, I, XII; cf. Rev. ch. XIX, 8-9.

3 Ibid, V, I, 26; cf. Kings, ch. III, 16. See for incident: Morte d'Arthur: 211, 4; 109, 3.

4 Ibid, II, VIII, 3-8.

5 Rev., Ch. IV, 1.

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whom Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of Jesus found in the sepulchre.[1]

But Spenser is true to himself. The Angel has curled "golden heares like Phoebus"; His wings are fitted to cut the "ayery ways",[2] and are decked with plumes -

"Like as Cupido on Idaean hill."

With the exception of the instances noted above Spenser's use of biblical reference is fragmentary, and consists rather in phrasal echoing,[3] or in simile,[4] than in wider development.

One peculiarity is the absolute unconsciousness with which he mingles pagan and Christian facts.[5] As we have seen he touches his Christian miracle with heathen color. In a list of warlike women, stout Deborah standsbetween Penthesilee and Camilla.[6] Pilate stands in the river Cocytus beside Tantalus.[7] And in the midst of the paganism of the Garden of Adonis we read

" - - the mighty word,

Which first was spoken by the Almighty Lord

That bad them to increase and multiply."[8]

This use of intimate of Biblical phrasing is just the same as that we have already seen ac-

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1 Mark, Ch. XVI, 5-7. The first stanzas of this canto foreshadow this miracle.

2 A reminiscence of Homeric phrase.

3 In Cymochles defiance to Guyon he shouts:

"Loe - loe already, how the fowles in aire
Doe flocke, awaiting shortly to obtayn
Thy carcass for their pray, - - F. Q. II, VI, 28.

4 cf. I Samuel, Ch. XVII, 44-46.
F. Q., I, VI, 10. "As when a greedy Wolfe - -
A seely Lamb far from the flock does take."

5 Cf. Supra c. III.

6 Ibid, III, IV, 2.

7 Ibid, II, VII, 59-60.

(Notes 8 and 9 on follow. page.)

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corded the classics, and requires no further discussion.

The romance which Spenser knew so well and used to such good effect, was popular material just beyond the pale of cultured literary taste. Some degrees beyond this lay the folk material. To avoid misapprehension in the following brief discussion, the scope with which this term is here employed must be clearly defined.

Much in Spenser's world of Faery is akin to the Otherworld which lay close to the consciousness of the people. But the conception has come to him chiefly through the medium of courtly romance, such as Partonope of Blois, The Vision of Sir Launfal, and the Lais of Marie de France.[1] His work holds little of the fresh simplicity of primitive creation. Such motifs as underworld journeys, voyages, magic boats, and fairy islands carry with them the stamp of direct sources. They are literary products strongly imbued with classic color. Under the caption Choice of Subject, it has been pointed out that Spenser's selection has cleverly countered the problem of verisimilitude. In his world of Faery all things become a probable possibility. This invisible line of demarcation between the real and the fairy world is again in keeping with the romance conception taken from the earlier folk-lore. The conception of fairies and elves as tiny beings belongs to an entirely different vein of folk-lore, and cannot be discussed here.[2] Since all of the

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con. note 8
F. Q., III, VI, 36.

note 9
For most of the references given here, and for greater detail see WM. Riedner: Spenser's Belesentreit.

[1] For more specific sources see section on Romance.

[2] There is some hint of this conception in the smallness of the satyrs.

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material noted above reached Spenser by way of romance it has been discussed under that head. For consideration under this section a small but complex body of material has been reserved. This consists of stories which are distinct from those of a romance or other literary origin, and carry with them a crude appeal to popular taste. There are also included certain superstitious practices, a few references, and some situations in which a more primitive element appears. Spenser's use of this material is limited but effective. When Britomart searches the palace of Busyrane for fair Amoret, she reads over the doors that bar her progress, "Be bold, be bold," "Be not too bold!"[1] The inscription is taken from a well known tale, an analogue of the Bluebeard stories.[2]

In this same connection we find a passage certainly like many other features drawn originally from the folk. This is the reversal of his own enchantment by Busyrane. It was a matter of common belief that-

"none but hee,

Which wrought it could the same recure againe."

And while the threatening Britomart holds her sword high over him, he - " gan streight to overlooke

Those cursed leaves, his charmes back to reverse;

Full dreadfull thinges out of that balefull booke

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[1] F. Q., III, XI, 54.

[2] Chambers: Book of Days; v. I, p. 291. A girl visits the home of her lover. He is not there. Incited by the above strange inscription on a door, she enters. She finds the hands of beautiful women. Her lover is convicted of murder.
Chambers notes Spenser's use of this story. He defines it as a rude nursery tale. Mr. Halliwell has pointed Shakespeare's possible reference to the same tale - Much Ado, Act., sc. 1.

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He red, and measur'd many a sad verse "[1]

Spenser seems to have made Britomart the centre of his folk-lore interest, she sees her future husband in a magic mirror. This is still a Hallow e'en and a May-day superstition. Her visit to Merlin, the conjuror,[2] to learn of her future husband, is a motif which belongs to folk-tale equally with romance and actual practice. The potion brewed by her old nurse, and the accompanying charm savor strongly of superstitious practises still extant. For she:-

"Had gathered rew, and savine, and the flowre
Of camphora, and calamirit, and dill,
All which she in a earthen pot did poure,
And to the brim with colt wood did it fill,
And many drops of milk and blood through it did spill

"Then, taking thrise three heares from of her head,
Them trebly breaded in a threefold laee,
And round about the pots mouth bound the thread,
And after having whispered a space
Certein sad words, with hollow voice and bace,
Shee to the virgin sayd, thrise sayd she itt:
Come, daughter, come, come; spit upon my face,
Spilt thrise upon me, thrise upon me spilt;
Th' uneven nomber for this business is most fitt."

That sayd, her rownd about she from her turned,
She turned her contrary to the sunne,
Thrise she her turned contrary, and returned
All contrary, for she the right did shunne,
And ever what she did was streight undonne.
So thought she to undoe her daughter's love:
F. Q., III, ii, 49-51

Warton and Upton have excellent notes upon this passage. They attribute it to classic sources, notably to the pseudo-Vergilian Ceiris, one line of which Warton quotes:

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1 F. Q., III, XII, 36. Cf. Peele's Old Wives' Tale (C. 1590) This play is a satire on folk material and has a number of features contained within this section of Spenser: Young wife carried off by enchanter; Visit to conjurer, thunder, lightening, sulphurous fire, reversal of charm.

2 This is of course suggested by a similar incident in Or. Fu.

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"Despue ter, virgo: numero deus impare gaudet."
Ceiris: l~~ine~~ 373.

Upton cites an equally apt passage from Petronius, suggestions from the Aeneid, from the Eclogues of both Vergil and Theocritus and from the latter's sixth Idyll (l~~ine~~ 39). This multiplicity of reference points to suggestion rather than direct source. Most probably Spenser is following his common custom of blending both ideas and sources. The fact that such a motif was familiar to him in the classics would have assured its admission in the Faerie Queene. Nevertheless, its conjunction with other folk elements and a certain vigor and freshness of tone hints of living lore.

The character of the old nurse displays mixed motivation. The inception is undoubtedly classic. Her presence in Homer and Vergil, establishes her right for all time to a place in epic poetry. Her shrewdness and scheming belong to a dramatic development. Her efforts to outwit Merlin have the tone of a popular tale.

Another story which has its roots in folk-lore or has in some way ~~penetrated~~ been influenced by that body of material, is the transformation of a mortal into a tree which retains human voice, feeling, and blood. Spenser has used this motif in the story of Fradubio.[1] His source is uncertain. The story appears in the Aeneid.[2] Ovid makes use of it nine times in his metamorphoses,[3]

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[1] F. Q., I,

[2] Bk. III, lines 22-46.

[3] Meta., Bk. I, 537-562; Bk. I, 15; Bk. III; Bk. IV, 244-270; Bk. VIII ; Bk. IX, 4; Bk. X, 464- ; Bk. XI, 6084; Bk. XIV, 513-526.

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and here it is that it most clearly displays its folk character. In Orlando Furioso, Astolpho is changed into a tree by the fairy Alcina,[1] and Tasso makes most effective use of the motif in his enchanted wood.[2] Spenser's story is not directly indebted to any of these, and it is most probable that he merely used what had become a widely spread and common story.[3]

There is also no source known for the story of Paridell and Hellenore.[4] It is Boccaccian in general character. The crude satire of its parodying names, and the crass humour in the popular theme of the gulled husband place it definitely in the class of fablia χ . There is much in the story sheerly and grossly vulgar, but it is saved from banality by the introduction of the court of love wooing, and by the final transformation of Malbecco into the abstraction Jealousy. The sordid fate of Hellenore is glossed by the sylvan atmosphere of the satyr community.

The introduction of such a story is a patent imitation of the humorous satire of Ariosto. The English poet fails in the light touch of the Italian, and the real vulgarity can be only palliated not condoned by his critical plea that good may be learned from "evil ensammple".

The hint of the folk element in the visit of the Faerie

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1 Or. Fu., c. VI.

2 Ger. Sil. c. XIII, st. 8, st. 40-43, st. 49, c. XVIII, st.26 st. 29-30, 34,

3 It is worthy of note Gascoigne used the motif in a hastily devised farewell to Elizabeth on her premature departure from Kenilworth. See: The Princelye Pleasures at the Courte of Kenilworth. (London, 1821.)

4 It is very probable that Spenser's source may yet be dis-

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Queene to Arthur,[1] and the dance of the nymphs upon the hill,[2] has been discussed under the sections in which the preponderating characteristics placed them, as has the very puzzling mention of Cachulinn's leap.[3]

A word more may be said about the dance of the nymphs. This incident occurs in a book replete with Irish, color, and the setting although conventionally heightened, is essentially Irish. There is

" - an hill plaste in an open plain"

A silver flood, besid which nymphs and faeries sit, tumbles at its foot -

"And on the top thereof a spacious plaine
Did spred it selfe, to serve to all delight,
Either to daunce, when they to daunce would faine,
Or else to course about their bases light."

The account recalls the fairy sidh of the old Irish stories and the fairies dancing in a ring, as they are still seen by the Irishman on his way, home from the Donnybrook Fair. And despite the specious color of classic reference, it seems that here Spenser may have had in mind one of those native stories of good invention which he had had translated to him.[4]

Spenser's method of blending materials makes, as has been noted in several instances, his true sources, even of a genre, a matter of doubt.

There is small room for doubt, however, as to the source of his description of Lust, for the nether lip, as a wide deep

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covered in some popular Italian story.[1] Spenser uses another story of obscure origin in development of Arthegal's prime virtue of justice. (Bk. V, c. IV.)

[2] F. Q., VI, X, 11 sq.

[3] Coulin of Debon is mentioned again Bk. III, IV, 50.

[4] V. Vene of the Pres. St. of Ire.

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poke, in which he stores the remnants of his bloody feasts is a distinguishing feature of the folk ogre or giant.[1] The circumstances attending the birth of Ruddymane may be parallelled in several ballads. His unhappy mother having clad herself in pilgrim's weeds seeks her lover. Overtaken by travail, alone in the forest she gives birth to her son. She says
"The woods, the nymphs, my bowres, my midwives, weare:"[2]
In the same connection, the prophetic charm engraved upon the cup given by the false Acrasia to the knight,[3] bears the stamp of popular material, as does also Phaedria's charm, when she steeps the eyes of Cymochles in "liquors strong" that nothing might awake him.[3]

It will be seen from the foregoing citations that Spenser's use of material which has not passed through the literary mill is meagre indeed, but this is temperamentally consistent. His love of art, elegance, and profusion constitutes a mental habit nourished through the eye rather than the ear. Hence his use of the folk-material is occasional rather than thematic.

At the beginning of this discussion a distinction was made in the use of the word genre, to include material according to source, and also according to form.

Romance, history, classic, biblical and folk materials have been reviewed, not primarily from the standpoint of specific source but as to the use which Spenser has made of the several genres. Where such use was motivated by particular critical principle that too has been noted. The discussion of the critical theory which governs his comprehensive use of genres is reserved for the close of the next chapter.

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[1] F. Q., IV, VII, 6. [2] F. Q., II, i, 52-55. [3] Ibid. II, VI, 18.

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Chapter VI.

Spenser's Use of Literary Genres According to form : Critical necessity for use of allegory.- Intermittent nature of political and social allegory.- Allegory: moral, political, social.- Pastoral.- Satire.- Lyric.- Dialogue.- Masque.- Court of Love material.- Renaissance conception of epic.- Double critical standard: classic, romantic.- Critical theories governing Spenser.- Variety.- Imitation.- Invention.- Conclusion.

The critical necessity for the use of allegory has been discussed in the choice of a subject, and need not detain us here. Nor is it the purpose of this thesis to seek an interpretation of the allegory save in the most general way. The purpose is to determine on the least imaginative premises possible the extent and method of Spenser's use of allegory.

It is neither intellectual laziness nor blindness which makes the writer reject a too detailed and consecutive interpretation of Spenser's political and social allegory. It is the conclusion of several logical reasons:

1. From the standpoint of the critic:

a) The determination not to let the judgment be obscured by a series of fascinating hypotheses not susceptible of scientific corroboration.

b) The clear perception:

(1) That all attempts to construe the allegory in detail have involved an arbitrary process of selection and rejection[1] based only upon expediency for the theory under development.

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[1] See the rejection of Arthur as a figure in political allegory: Padelford: The Polit. Alleg. of the F.Q., p.46. "I take it that Spenser is here not thinking of any individual."

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(2) That frequently the theories followed to a logical conclusion lead to absurdities[1] and impossible conclusions.[2]

(3) That detailed interpretation gives a forced significance to literary convention and to borrowed material.

(4) That no adequate motive has been established in art, religion or politics to warrant such detailed work.

(5) That the variety of interpretations offered in their contradiction of each other, is cumulative proof of unsoundness in method and conclusion.

2. From the standpoint of the poet's method:

a) An explicit statement of centralized interest in a philosophic work.

b) Consecutive allegory would add an intolerable burden to an already overtaxed scheme.

c) Lack of structural ability on part of poet militates the probability of sustained design.

d) Borrowed material not so apt to be allegoric as original creation.

The position assumed is difficult. It would be easier to establish a frank negation than to support a view which both accepts and rejects political allegory. The true situation is, however, a mean. Indisputably Spenser refers to large political events, and shadows in his characters members of Elizabeth's court. But, as the result

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1 V. Prof. Buck's identification of Elizabeth with Una, Amoret, and Florimel. Followed out, this compels Britomart- Elizabeth- to stand by and see Florimel- Elizabeth- chased by the forester. Later, Britomart- Elizabeth- rescues and keeps under her protection Amoret- Elizabeth. Such confusion would have laid Spenser open to the keenest ridicule by his contemporaries.

2 Ibid., (The Polit. Alleg. in Spenser's F.Q., Univ. Studies of Nebraska: V. II) If Paridell is the Earl of Oxford, and his desertion of Hellenore represents Oxford's desertion of his wife, the character and subsequent fate of Hellenore would be a most intolerable insult to Burleigh's daughter, and one which Spenser would not have dared offer.

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of long study of his material and method, a detailed interpretation of continuous ecclesiastic, political, or social allegory must be rejected.

From the standpoint of the poet there is much to be said as to his intention and method. Primarily his statement was of an interest centralized in a philosophic work. His exposition of this ethic philosophy is a moral allegory. This is consistent. From first to last the action of the knights is made expository of their respective virtues, and related characters and episodes are made subservient to the same purpose.

In the oft quoted letter to Raleigh in which Spenser purports to give the key to his continued allegory or "darke conceite", the whole emphasis is upon its moral significance; there is but a single phrase which affords an opening for a constructive political deduction. "In that Faerie Queene," the poet writes, "I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soveraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faery Land." It is possible to construe these last words as an intention to reproduce the life of the court and the political situation of that and the previous age. But before such emphasis is attached to so slight a phrase, the context should be examined in detail.

Spenser declares his general intention, "without expressing of any particular purposes or by accidents therein occasioned--------- is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline:" Conceiving that it would be "most plausible and pleasing being coloured with an historicall fiction", he chooses Arthur as furthest removed from "envy and suspition of the present time." In these two matters he cites the example of Homer, Vergil, Ariosto and Tasso. He recognizes that "to some---this methode will seeme displea-

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saunt", but he emphasizes the necessity of pleasing, and notes the difference in the influence exerted by Plato and Xenophon. He points out that in view of Elizabeth's double personality as sovereign and woman, he shadows her both as the Faerie Queene and as Belphoebe, borrowing Raleigh's own conceit, and noting the identity of Belphoebe, Cynthia and Diana. For the hero, his general and particular intentions are expressed in magnificence and in Arthur. Then, one half of the letter is devoted to story, with but one broad statement, that the armor brought by Una's dwarf was "the whole armor of God." In conclusion he states that he has pointed to the "wel-head of the history" whence "the whole intention of the conceit" may be gathered "as in a handfull", and he includes a short paragraph too often neglected: "But by occasion hereof, many other adventures are intermedled, but rather as accidents than intendments."

Pitted against this statement of purpose we have the one phrase quoted above, "and her kingdom in Faery Land" as a source for the idea of a detailed political allegory.

The complimentary sonnets to the powerful lords of the court must be considered next. Here there is opportunity for greater latitude of interpretation. Out of fifteen sonnets, those to Hatton, Ormond, Lord Grey, Raleigh, Burleigh, Buckhurst, Walsingham, and Sidney (in the person of Countess of Pembroke) carry no intimation that the person addressed is included in the Faerie Queene, yet Lord Grey as Arthegal is a most unmistakable figure. The sonnet to Essex makes it clear that his name does not appear in the first three books. But Spenser's promise to glorify his name later when his stronger muse shall sing the "last praises of this Faery Queene" leaves an open problem. Essex may appear in any of the last three books, or his honor may yet be unsung, as were the last praises of

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the queen. The sonnets to the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland and to Sir John Norris are ambiguous, but the general implication seems to be that these lords are celebrated in the great poem. Oxford, Howard, and Hunsdon are definitely included.

The introduction of Book II contains the clearest indication of the existence of a political allegory. The poet knows that some account his work "th'abundance of an ydle braine", but why should they disbelieve in the Land of Faery when more wonderful worlds have been discovered? And he adds:

> "Of Faery Lond yet if he more inquyre,
> By certain signes here sett in sondrie place,
> He may it fynd; ne let him then admyre,
> But yield his sence to bee too blunt and bace,
> That no'te without an hound fine footing trace.
> And thou of fayrest Princesse under sky
> In this fayre mirrhour maist behold thy face,
> And thine owne realmes in Lond of Faery,
> And in this antique ymage thy great auncestry."

This sums up the extraneous evidence for the existence of political allegory. Taken in conjunction with the evidence for moral allegory, it does not warrant the conclusion that there exists a political allegory more subtle, more pervasive and more laboriously worked out than is the moral allegory and the story of the poem; yet this is what a detailed interpretation would imply.

The study of Spenser's allegory, with its alluring speculative possibilities, has tempted many a critic's pen. This discussion is not controversial, and in drawing conclusions will, as much as possible, avoid direct conflict with previous theories. But an effort will also be made not to confound fanciful creation with constructive imagination.

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with the satiric characterization? In view of the parodying nam
of Pandolle and Hellenore how may attribute seriousness to the gene
How does Prof. Bush connect Trojan Paris with a French ancestry? "S.
name Paris suggests French extraction". (Polit. All. in the F.Q., p. 32.)

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The evidence of the sonnets establishes the fact that Spenser has "shadowed" some of her courtiers as well as Elizabeth. But the crux remains. To what extent did he do this? What warrant has any critic to assume a complete system of political allegory underlying the moral allegory? This question can only be justly weighed in conjunction with the evidence for moral allegory, which is plainly asserted as a primary purpose.

The first step is the analysis of the most evident forms of allegory as they appear in the Faerie Queene. Spenser's allegory assumes a triple form, moral, political and social.

The broad moral allegory of the twelve virtues, which forms the heart of Spenser's scheme, is too well understood to require detailed treatment here. The development of these virtues constitutes a system of philosophy leading to the highest self-development, and to a state of virtue culminating in the happiness of the individual and the weal of the state. The virtues, according to both Plato and Aristotle, are all to be found merged in one, magnificence or magnanimity. This is represented by Arthur.*1 ~~See Buck (infra) p. 50.~~

The development of the titular virtue of the individual knights is made by a series of incidents which either call for the exercise of this virtue on the part of the hero or else present a scene of vivid contrast; and also by the introduction of type figures or abstractions which furnish parallels or contrasts.

In the Book of Temperance, Guyon, the hero, is accompanied by the sage palmer because conventionally wisdom is always the companion of Temperance.[2] In his first adventure, the encounter with the Red Cross Knight, in the very rush of battle, Guyon lowers his spear

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[2] Cf. Tasso: ~~Ger. Lib.~~ Charles has a sage companion, Ubaldo.

*1 E. Beck: Polit. Allegory in the F.Q. p. 30

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and cries mercy of knight and God that he has so nearly assaulted the symbol of Christ's death--a clear instance of restraint. He finds the victims of Acrasia--the dead knight, the dying lady, the bloody-handed babe--and his quest is thereby motivated. Acrasia, as incontinent luxury and sensuality, under whatsoever name she may appear, is a conventional figure in the ethic world, and the natural enemy of Temperance. She is the irrational nature of Plato, knowing no restraint in laughter, lust or anger.[1] She is the bodily pleasure of Aristotle.[2] And again, she is the reincarnation of the Alcina of Ariosto and the Armida of Tasso. The whole story is lifted bodily from Tasso.

The visit to the House of Medina[3] is a dull piece of obvious allegory, in which the "mean" of Aristotle is presented as a phase of Temperance, and contrasted with its extremes.

The encounter with Phaon[4] is a clever adaptation to specific theme of an episode borrowed from the Orlando.[5] The hasty judgment of Phaon with its train of evils is a foil to the deliberation of Temperance. And about this central personage Spenser has drawn an entourage of symbolic figures, Fury, Occasion, Atin (Rumour kindling wrath), all borrowed from the classics,[6] and the two rude knights, Cymochles and

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[1] Plato: Rep. Bk. XXIII, p. 105; Phaedrus, p. 457.

[2] Ethics: VII, 14-15, pp. 416-13: "Bodily pleasures have usurped the name of pleasure. Where excess is possible in processes, excess is possible in results, hence excess is the common evil of bodily pleasure. Bodily pleasures are sought for their powerful effect by those who have lost capacity for simpler, purer tastes." Cf. Plato: Phaedrus, p. 457, Jowett: I: "He who is corrupt does not easily rise out of this world to the sight of true beauty in the other; he looks only at her earthly namesake, and instead of being awed at the sight of her, he is given over to pleasure, and like a brutish beast he rushes on to enjoy and beget; he consorts with wantonness, and is not afraid or ashamed of pursuing pleasure in violation of nature."

[3] F. Q., II, ii, 12 sq.

[4] Ibid., II, IV.

[5] See story of Ariodantes, C. V, 18 sq; Cf. Shakespeare's Much Ado, and Belleforest's Histoires Tragiques

[6] See Todd: Ed. Spenser, V. III; Upton, Ed. of Spenser

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Pyrochles, amidst which the virtue of Guyon shines as a light in darkness.

The wanton Phaedria, her little boat and the floating island, and the trip to the cave of Mammon are but tests of the virtue of Temperance. The swoon of Guyon, and his consequent protection by Arthur give to Magnificence his opportunity to show himself stronger than the very champion of the book, and the restraint shown in battle to the conquered but sullen Pyrochles emphasizes in Arthur the superb quality of Temperance. Guyon gives oath of allegiance to Arthur as his superior. Then follows the long mediaeval allegory of the House of Alma, in which the whole structure is made to symbolize the human body, the home of the soul. The battle of Arthur with the raskall rout that represents the senses besieging the soul, again demonstrates his superiority. But the finest touch of the allegory is the meeting of each knight with the lady who represents the excess of his own virtue. The culmination of the allegory is Guyon's adventure in the Bower of Bliss. Thus it is evident that the whole series of episodes is bent to one end, the triumph of Temperance, both in the person of the champion, Guyon, and the super-hero, Magnificence.

Throughout the book, despite some too obvious allegory, Spenser has preserved the story. One incident follows or begets another as easily and naturally in immediate articulation, as has been enjoined by Aristotle and all succeeding critics. The question is, does there lie beneath this double structure another, more subtle, more intricate, and more intractable? Acrasia has been identified with the Roman Church and with Mary, Queen of Scots. Yet she was a pure incarnation of pleasure, as been already shown,[1] and the incident was taken over bodily from Tasso.

[1] Supra, p.9.

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Are not these facts sufficient as a raison d'être? Is there need for a third significance, and wherein lies the evidence therefor?

The development of the next two books, as has been noted in the discussion of structure, is not so clear cut in design. However, there is, however, a similar fitting of incident to the virtues of Chastity and Friendship. The delicate virtue of Amoret is a foil for the strength of noble Britomart, and the lasciviousness of Hellenore but throws into high relief the stern chastity of the warrior maid. The friendship of Cambello and Triamond finds a counterpart in that of Amyas and Placidas, and is contrasted with the worthless friendship[1] of Paridell and Blandamour.

A change in style, perceptible in Book IV, becomes characteristic in Books V and VI. Spenser has sapped his sources, and much of the grace and abounding fertility of his adaptive invention leaves him. The scenes belong less to the realm of fancy, and partake more of the stern realism of the land of his exile.

The exposition of Justice is made by a series of incidents greater in number than before. Each carries the lesson of Justice, but there is less welding. The author may well say:

> "And turne we here to this faire furrowes end,
> Our wearie yokes to gather fresher sprights."
>
> F.Q., V.III,40.

There seems an unreasoning hurry in the punishment of Munera, in the silencing of the argumentative giant, the settlement of the inheritance disputed by Amidas and Bracidas, the punishment of Briana's lover and of Adicia, the battle with the Souldan, and numerous other incidents which crowd one upon another with little connection and less of imaginative charm.

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[1] Plato: Symposium, p.552. Hasty and interested alliances disallowed. No generous friendship springs from such seed.

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In the Book of Courtesy, Spenser returns in a measure to his pastoral manner. The incidents are devised to illustrate the titular virtue, but there is less directness of application. There is no inwardness of meaning, little charm of episode, and the book drags drearily to an end with the unexciting capture of the lifeless beast.

The first book has purposely been reserved last for discussion because it has been made the field for most of the interpretive speculation. It displays at their height qualities which dwindle with each succeeding book---idealization, imagery and mysticism. The titular virtue is Holiness, and the whole book is the story of the upward struggle of a soul in which there is a notable attempt at the reconciliation, or rather amalgamation, of Platonic and Christian doctrine.

Una is Truth, the knight is Holiness. Both from the Christian and Platonic standpoint she is his source of guidance, uplift and inspiration. The storm is one of the dangers that threaten spiritual life. The great dragon, Errour, is sin which must be overcome. The knight falls a victim to the deceit of Archimago and Duessa, as any soul may be tempted, deceived, and led from truth. And here let us interrupt for a moment the thread of the allegory to note Spenser's conformity to critical theory. In the code of tragic law, equally applicable to the epic, the hero must fall not through sin but through human weakness, which may even lean to virtue. Here the knight falls into error in the first instance by avoiding the very appearance of evil, and in the second through pity for the distressed. The episode of the House of Pride with its crumbling foundations and secret abominations, its usurping mistress and her councillors, the deadly sins, is mediaeval allegory, obvious and conventional, borrowed from Gower's Miroir de l'Omme, and the Confessio Amantis.[1] The knight

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withstands and flees from the carnal sins. But when the beautiful Duessa again seeks him the sensual side of his nature asserts itself, and drags him down, not even then however before he has drunk of the waters of the magic fountain:

> "Yet goodly court he made still to his dame,
> Poured out in loosenesse on the grassy ground,
> Both careless of his health and of his fame."
>
> F.Q., I, VII, 7.

There are two natures in man, Plato teaches,[1] and the appeal to these is made respectively by the heavenly and the earthly Venus. These are represented by Spenser in Una and Duessa. Duessa is also falsehood as opposed to truth.

Lucifera and Orgoglio are two forms of worldly pride which assail the Christian soul and the struggling knight. The first he has tre strength to resist. But when the lower side of his nature has mastered him, he falls a victim to the second. Yet even here Spenser has preserved decorum, and the Red Cross Knight is spared utter disgrace in his defeat by Orgoglio because he has drunk of the enchanted fountain. His long imprisonment and fasting is the Christian cure for the sinful soul and the conventional cure for lust. When he is restored to Una, his is a chastened and repentant spirit,[2] ready

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[1] Plato: Laws, V.V, p.219; Symposium, V.I, p.548; Phaedrus, V.I, p.460.

[2] That no explanation ever takes place between Una and her knight is most probably due to an oversight on the part of the poet in rehandling material, as in the omitted meeting of Scudamour and Amoret.

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laborious piecing together of detail and comparative tables is the only treatment known to me which adequately presents Spenser's method in handling material. It is a cause of the keenest regret that time and space do not afford opportunity for a similar method in this discussio It is only by such painstaking method that the true extent and intricacy of Spenser's borrowings can be shown. I believe other material used in the same shredded fashion could be shown to enter this same

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to return to his nobler love, and to resume the struggle upward to the divine. His first adventure is with the assailant of Christian faith, Despair or Wan-Hope, a well-known figure in mediaeval theology. Saved from this insidious spiritual peril by Una, he is conducted to the House of Holiness,

"Where he is taught repentaunce and
The way to hevenly blesse."

The allegory is clear as the day, and the Christian and Platonic philosophies in perfect accord lift the spirit of the knight to divine contemplation and a vision of the New Jerusalem. Spenser's genius has spent itself freely, even revelled in mysticism and symbolic elaboration.[1] It is a type of mediaeval allegory such as he has used

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[1] The basis of this episode is perhaps to be found in the Tesoretta of Brunetto Latini (C.1210-1294), or in some imitation of that work. Possibly through the reflected glory of his greater work, Li Livres dou Tresor, a mammoth encyclopaedia written in French and embracing the science and philosophy of the age, or possibly as the acknowledged precursor of Dante's far greater work, the Tesoretta held an important place in Italian literature, and was wellknown elsewhere. It is a work of ethic philosophy, written in verse, but interspersed with prose. Brunetto while on a journey hears ill news of international import. Stunned by grief, he loses his way in a forest. He sees on a mountain a great crowd. In the centre is a noble figure, Dame Nature. (This figure probably reappears in the Canto of Mutabilitie.) She instructs (Bk.III) Brunetto in all science, and then directs him to the home of Virtue, (C.13,l.1230 sq.) with whom dwell her four royal daughters, Prodenza, Temperanza, Fortezza, and Giustizia. In the house of the last are found four royal ladies: Cortezia, Larghezza, Leanza (Loyalty), and Prodezza (Prowess), of whom he learns sage and civil precepts. He is taught first by Liberality, then sent in turn to the others, just as is the R.C.K. in the House of Holiness. From this place Brunetto visits Love and Fortune. He comes to a wide flowering meadow filled with people, some joyful, some sad. Here we must distinctly recall Scudamour's account of the Temple of Venus.

In the midst upon a high throne stands Pleasure, a winged youth who incessantly shoots his arrows among the crowd. He is surrounded by four ladies who rule his followers,--Fear and Desire, Love and Hope. There follows a disquisition on love. Brunetto falls a victim to Pleasure, but is rescued by Ovid (C.18,l.2390). He next ascends a high mountain, and reaches an open plain. Here he is disposed to honor Divinity and to flee worldly vanity.(l.2505 sq.). He confesses his sins and is absolved. He next ascends Mount Olympus, where he is met by a sage with a great beard descending on his breast. This is Tolomeo, who warns him against love and other dangers (C.16,l.1845 sq.). The Tesoretta clearly contains features analogous both to the Divine Comedy

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elsewhere in the House of Pride, the House of Alma, and to some degree in the Gardens of Adonis and the Temple of Venus. But the spirit of philosophy permeates the whole. He has drawn upon the Bible, upon art and the classics to enrich his conceptions. The whole has the depth of thought, the stillness and dignity, which marks true inward contemplation.

As has been noted elsewhere, the poet carefully preserves a purely Platonic relation between the knight and Una, even in the circumstances of their betrothal, and through the guidance of Una the knight is directed step by step to Heavenly Contemplation.

Such is Spenser's development of moral allegory. The summary presents but the barest outline. For the sake of brevity, detail and all quotation have been eliminated. But Spenser is past master of the art of decorum. His characters reveal in every word the abstract quality which they represent. To do justice to this feature would be to re-edit the Faerie Queene. The most notable point is the obviousness of the allegory, and next in importance is the fact that Spenser does not allow allegory to interfere with his story. It is perfectly true that the mediaeval extent and detail of the allegory proves wearisome, but so do other features in a work which is a conscious recrudescence of Mediaeval literature. In judging any work, the taste of its age should be made the standard. The inherited taste and capacity of the Elizabethans for didactic moralization is abundantly testified by contemporary literature.

Although the first book is peculiarly devoted to spiritual allegory, it is here that the political allegory encroaches upon the moral. For Una, Truth, is the true and therefore reformed church of England,

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and the Faerie Queene. The influence upon Dante is openly accepted (cf. Inferno: XV, 79-87). As regard the F.Q., the analogy is too striking to be ignored, yet neither close nor consecutive enough to be decisive. The relation is offered as a suggestion, and as evidence of common literary stock.

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contrasted and balanced at every point with Duessa, Falsehood, the Catholic Church, the conventional scarlet whore of Rome, and the Harlot of the Apocalypse. Archimago is Catholicism, the spiritual and temporal power of Rome, the Papacy itself whose creature Duessa is. Lucifera and Orgoglio, as pride, in certain symbolism again represent the Roman Church.

Only the features that are so clear as to be almost lifted above the field of speculation are noted here. The identification of Arthur with Leicester is one of these. The only part of the Faerie Queene of which the date of composition can be approximated with any certainty is the first. When we first hear of the Faerie Queene, Spenser was in the employment of Leicester and under the patronage of Sidney.[1] He must have known the masque of Gascoigne prepared for the Queen's entertainment at Kenilworth, with its frank espousal of Leicester's cause. Since this play was never presented, Spenser sought to broach the subject more delicately.[2] Leicester was the only figure of Elizabeth's court which could be identified with Arthur, and his long wooing from the time of her accession until his death is a sufficient parallel. To this must be added the evidence of the visit of the Faerie Queene, and the almost unmistakeable words of the R.C.K.:

"Thou only fit to be her mate----."

The design to effect in Arthur the culmination of all the virtues was a compliment worthy of the Prince Consort. But more noble and delicate was the adulation to the queen, for she as the heavenly Venus was the inspiration which lifted him to such a height. And in their union Spenser intended to consummate his Platonic philosophy, his story and his political allegory.

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[1] Letter of Oct.5,1579.

[2] It is also to be remembered that Spenser openly espoused Leicester's cause in M.H.T.

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The political allegory of the books of Temperance, Chastity and Friendship has no outstanding features which declare themselves. With Book 4 there comes a more serious tone, and the Irish color begins to supersede the gilded landscape. In Book V the politician speaks. No gloss is needed to identify Arthur, Lord Grey de Wilton in his administration of Ireland, and Talus, the man of iron, as military power. The method of this book is that already described; the incidents develop the subject virtue, but here the protagonist is an unmistakable political figure, and Justice is the virtue both of the state and the individual; the political and moral allegory, therefore, become one. There existed a strong motive force for this allegory in Spenser's desire to defend his patron and friend, Lord Grey. And it must be sharply observed that the material is largely Spenser's own, or taken from such slight suggestion that it may be easily moulded to political significance. Thus the story of Pollente and the bridge[1] is founded on a suggestion from the Orlando, but in the name of Munera, and in her hands of gold and feet of silver may easily be read the bribery and extortion rife in Ireland.

The giant (V.II,30) is one of the demagogue leaders of the people, rousing them to unreasoning rebellion through false logic, while Guyle typifies the treachery and danger of the mob. For an accurate presentation of political allegory, there is some confusion in the order of events.[2] The battle with the Soldan is commonly interpreted as the defeat of the Armada.[3] (V.VIII.) That the chief part should be here played by Leicester is an anomaly. The incident also precedes the trial of Duessa, Mary Queen of Scots, although in actual order of events the expedition was two years later, and occurred after Leices-

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[1] F.Q., V,ii,4-27; cf. Or.Fu., C.XXIX, 33 sq.

[2] Dates: The Armada appeared off the Lizard July 20,1588. Mary was executed in 1586. Leicester was sent to the Netherlands 1585.

[3] [illegible]

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ter's expedition to the Lowland, and just prior to his death. Nevertheless, the expedition to the Netherlands under Leicester, and the trial of Mary wear scarcely a veil of Allegory. There is a peculiar significance in Leicester's presence at this trial, for he is commonly supposed to have made the decisive movement which resulted in the execution of the unfortunate queen.[1] Kingdom's Care and Justice demand punishment, but tears of pity wash away the stain of blood from the judges. The clearness of the allusions to Henry IV of France, to Philip II of Spain, to the account of Leicester's exploits in the Netherlands, and to Grey's administration in Ireland, demand no exposition.

The sixth book, except for the charm of the pastoral, furnishes little matter for discussion. The wings of Spenser's genius flag. The "salvadge soyle" has cast its shadow on his spirit. Courtesy is but perfunctorily depicted. The incidents are flat. The poet turns to Greek romance for material, or picks up detached incidents from Arthurian story.[2] The Blatant Beast, or slander, has little of satiric or political force. It may to a degree represent the Puritan party, but such interpretation must lie largely with the individual reader. Even Upton and Todd seek no political interpretation.

Now we may turn to the third and last division of our allegory, the social. The term has been chosen in the sincere belief that it holds a real significance, if not a partial solution of the question. The introductory sonnets seem to point to the shadowing (the word is Spenser's own) of some of the noblemen in the characters of the great poem. The identification of these men has been coupled with an attempt to work out a consecutive and consistent political allegory.

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1 Cf. Dict. Nat. Biog.

2 The Blatant Beast is to be met in Morte d'Arthur, in Hist. of King Arthur, and in Chevalier au armes doree, the Castle of Beards, and Tristram. Stories have been already noted. See Pleasant Hist of the Palla[illegible] Eng. Rom. (Ed. 1588, Ch. XI) for incident of [illegible] and

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The procedure and results have been characterized by inconsistencies in method and conclusion. Nevertheless there are characters and incidents in which minor features are accentuated to a degree which, even to the eyes of the casual reader, is not warranted, or at least required by the exigencies of the story. For instance, the grieved anger of Belphoebe at the momentary defection of Timias for the gentle Amoret;[1] the elaborate description of Sir Scudamour,[2] despite the small part he really plays in the story; the encounter of Belphoebe with Braggadocio;[3] the wounding of Timias and Serena by the Blatant Beast,[4] the incident of the bear and the babe,[5] and many similar episodes. It is extremely probable that the protagonists of the first, second, fourth and sixth books pay a compliment en passant to some courtier, but that a life history or true portrait is not to be sought therein.

The distinction between the social and political allegory has been adopted as a working hypothesis for many reasons. It offers a mean between an improbable system of highly developed political allegory, and the impossible refutal of allusion.

It is in accord with the practice of Tasso, by whom many men were included in his poem, but no effort was made toward political history or complete identification. It relieves the poet from an

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1 F.Q., Book IV, vii, 35 sq. A supposed reference to Raleigh's intrigue with Lady Elizabeth Throckmorton.

2 Sir James Scudamour was one of Elizabeth's courtiers. (Cf. Infra, C. VII).

3 Possibly a reference to Alencon's courtship of Elizabeth.

4 F.Q., VI, v; assumed to be the scandal in regard to Raleigh and Elizabeth Throckmorton.

5 F.Q., VI, 4, 17, sq. Supposed reference to the MacMahon family.

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almost intolerable burden of a third organized structure--story, ethic allegory, political history. It relegates political allegory to the larger matters of public interest understood by all, and depicted as has been shown, with a free brush and clear color. It reserves the lighter allusion of compliment and reference for the inner circle of the court, and thus preserves the true character of the great court poem of compliment.

From a literary standpoint it absolves from the necessity of interpreting borrowed material and purely conventional features in a new and forced significance. For example, the lion[1] is a conventional figure of romance. He is subdued by royalty and chastity. The mere knowledge on the part of the R.C.K. of the lion's devotion to Una would be proof of her chastity and the falseness of the vision shown by Archimago.[2] There is no need, therefore, to interpret the lion either as the English people or as Henry VIII; for how then account for his death?[3] The lopping off of an arm and then of a knee are conventional features of a giant fight, found in a half score of places. There is no necessity that these limbs should represent the provinces of the Netherlands.[4] Acrasia is a character which both in setting and moral significance is taken over from Tasso's epic. It is unnecessary, unreasoning and inartistic to crowd another character upon her.

Finally, it supplies in the field of compliment, a motivation which is lacking in much of the serious interpretation of political allegory. If we are to read the whole first book as an allegory of the struggle of the Reformation, we may justly be allowed to ask, Why?

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1 F.Q., I, III.

2 Cf. Josiane story in Bevis of Hampton. V. Supra.

3 V. Buck and Padelford, --Op. cit.

4 V. Padelford, Op. cit.

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What would be the interest to Elizabeth and her court? The memory neither of her sister nor of her father held anything of endearment or sacred association to Elizabeth. The memory of Gardiner and of Cranmer held little or nothing of reverence or of interest. The age was full of life and adventure, and unquestioning. Religion was largely a matter of politics. In England it had not reached that stage of fierce introspection and personal responsibility for future salvation to which it attained in the days of the later Cromwell. The trammels of authority had fallen too recently for free agency to be assertive. No edged line as yet divided Churchman and Puritan. And Spenser, our scholar, philosopher, gentleman, poet and Christian, what is there in his writing to clothe him in the sad garments of a stern reformer? Surely he was mpre a Platonist than a Christian, more an artist than a Platonist, and more a man of the Renaissance, alive to the possibilities of life, than an artist.

We have seen the reasons why a distinction was necessary between social and political allegory, and may now proceed to the larger objections to the theory of a continued and detailed political allegory. At the beginning of this discussion the objections were stated from the standpoint of the interpretation of purpose.

There is nothing in Spenser's statements of purpose to warrant such a conclusion. It has no precedent in his avowed models to inspire or justify such a procedure. It implies a mastery of structure, which is the great quality in which Spenser has been found lacking. It would demand the nicest observance of detail and most careful coördination, qualities incompatible with the discrepancies of structure and conjunction already demonstrated. Too close an observance of fact would involve the writer in political difficulties. And last, there is an objection to which Spenser's contemporaries would have been keenly alive

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and none more so than he himself. Epic dignity demanded a modicum of historic truth, hence the invocation of Clio[1] upon occasion. But to enter into a minute record of past or current events would have been to pass into the realm of history and call in question the subject matter of his poem. Fiction colored with historic truth left the poet free in the exercise of ideal truth; history bound him to fact. Spenser was too good a critic to wreck his poem on any such rock of dogma. Again, we may observe it was not merely a happy chance which placed his poem in Faery Lond, and thus solved the problems of verisimilitude.

It has required a long preample to reach the stage on which the phase of allegory pertinent to this discussion can be treated. It has been shown that Spenser's moral allegory is broad, plain, and consistent, accentuated by analogous incident and by contrast; that his political allegory in an equally clear manner deals with large movements of national interest; that his social allegory is a medium of compliment and allusion, probably underatood at the time, but purposely elusive and shifting; that none of the three forms is allowed to interfere with the development of the atory.

Then what was Spenser's use of allegory? Primarily, it formed the justification of his great imaginative poem, the raison d'être demanded by critics and public alike as a concomitant of the epic. To the serious and philosophic scholar steeped in Platonism, it constituted the high function of noble poesy. By its means he set forth his philosophy of life and state, and pointed toward the highest good, happiness, which should find expression in right action. To the poet it gave a rich medium of expression, lending depth of meaning and charm of symbolism. His moral allegory opened far reaching avenues

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of thought and inspiration. His political allegory lent the dignity of national interests required in an epic. The social allegory was to the courtier a flexible instrument of adulation to his Queen and her court. Instances of more stereotyped allegory, as of symbolic houses with their retainers and attendants of abstractions, wearisome at times though they may be, lend an atmosphere of quaint seriousness to a poem professedly of an earlier age. In these conceptions Spenser has observed absolute decorum, and he owes much of his suggestion to that greatest allegory of the Middle Ages, the Romaunt de la Rose, as well as to Gower and to Lydgate.

The whole was as a great veil of golden tissue with changing, shifting folds, showing now one aspect, now another of the central figures. The Faerie Queene appears, elusive, with all the charm of the other world, whose words the like "No living man----did ever heare"[2]; anon, she is Gloriana, the symbol of power and lasting fame; again, the great Elizabeth, the regent queen, rich, powerful and beautiful; then Belphoebe, chaste, proud, withdrawing; and last, Mercilla, pitying but sternly just. Duessa comes, the Romish Church, Falsehood, the foil of Una, Truth,--the alluring woman of romance, the witch of folk-lore, and Mary Queen of Scots, who truly in herself combined something of all these natures.

The marvellous thing about Spenser's allegory is the freedom which it gives the poet. As a literary genre adapted to convey a specific meaning under its outer form, it has been regarded as restrictive in its nature. Spenser's genius or power of assimilation has risen superior to this limitation. He is complete master of the material,

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[1] For precedent, see Ger. Lib.; Ascham, Puttenham, Poliziano.

[2] F.Q., I, IX, 14.

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and has given it a flexibility that never hampers but adds riches upon riches, incident upon incident, and supplies pictures wrought with the minute care of vignettes. The epic code demands that the poet speak but little in person, but through his allegory Spenser voices his own nature, his loyalty to his friends, and his deep moral consciousness. To know, to understand, and to love Spenser's allegory is to keep a mind open to its shifting nature.

The introduction of other literary genres into the epic must be passed over briefly. Spenser's early experimental use of the pastoral has been discussed.[1] The charm of the genre stayed with him. It appears in fleeting glimpses throughout the great poem. The "litle lowly hermitage" of Archimage,

"Downe in a dale hard by a forests side," (F.Q.,I,i,34,) takes us swiftly from the world of knights and ladies, courts and queens, back to the humble scenes of the pastoral. Una's stay among the satyrs (I,vi,7-34) opens the door for a brief glimpse of classic pastoral:

- "They all as glad as birdes of joyous pryme,
  Thence lead her forth about her dauncing round,[2]
  Shouting and singing all a shepheard's ryme;
  And with greene braunches strowing all the ground,
  Do worship her as queene with olive girlond crown'd.

  And all the way their merry pipes they sound,
  That all the woods with doubled eccho ring,
  And with their horned feet doe weare the ground,
  Leaping like wanton kids in pleasant spring,
  So toward old Sylvanus they her bring." F.Q.,I.

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1 V.Supra, C.1.

2 Cf.Sidney's May Lady.

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Florimel's adventure[1] introduces us to a different and simpler phase of the genre. In her flight she reaches

"A little cottage built of stickes and reedes
In homely wize, and wald with sods around."

The witch's son woos Florimel in true pastoral fashion;

"Oft from the forrest wildings he did bring
Whose sides empurpled were with smyling red,
And oft young birds which he had taught to sing
His maistresse praises sweetly caroled;
Girlonds of flowres sometime for her faire hed
He fine would dight; sometimes the squirrell wild
He brought to her in bands,---." (F.Q.,III,vii,17.)

A third fleeting glimpse is to be found in Hellenore's refuge with the satyrs, who crown her with garlands as a May Lady, and dance around her on the green.

In the sixth book Spenser makes a genuine return to pastoral. It may be the increasing influence of Irish life and scenery, or that Calidore's search for the Blatant Beast naturally leads him into forests, or else Spenser's wearied invention turns from the lavish art of his earlier books. Whatever the cause, the scenes of the Legend of Courtesy are laid in Ireland, and in the home and environment of Meliboe, and in the wooing of Pastorell, we find true pastoral, (VI,IX,10) not that of the earlier Shepherd's Calendar, but that of Sannazzaro's Amintas, and of Guarini's Il Pastor Fido. There is no incongruity in the manner of its introduction. It comes as a restful interlude after the endless chain of chivalric adventure. The reflections of Meliboe upon the mean estate are purely conventional, but they hold for

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[1] F.Q.,III,vii,6 sq.

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us an echo of Spenser's own experience, and thus take an added interest. Spenser presents with charming grace the rivalry of Calidore and Coridon in wooing Pastorell. And the pastoral is made the occasion of a veritable purple patch in the dance of the nymphs and Graces witnessed by Calidore.[1] Description fails to impart the grace and beauty of the sylvan scene. Surely, despite classic color, the poet has here recreated for us the fairy dance of older Ireland as he hears the shrilling pipes and the echo of light feet upon the hollow ground,[2] and sees

"An hundred naked maidens lilly white,
All raunged in a ring and dauncing in delight"--

while in the midst three others dance and sing,--

"The whilest the rest them round about did hemme,
And like a girlond did in compasse stemme:
And in the middest of those same three was placed
Another damzell, as a precious gemme
Amidst a ring most richly well enchaced,
That with her goodly presence all the rest much graced."

F.Q., VI, x, 11-12.

The central figure was the woman Spenser loved, and to few women has been offered so exquisitely heightened a compliment as this to Elizabeth Boyle.

Calidore rises, and

"They vanisht all away out of his sight,
And cleane were gone, which way he never knew."

This is the habit of the fairies of Ireland even today.

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[1] F.Q., VI, x, 6.

[2] Why "hollow", unless the dance is upon the mound of their cave dwelling?

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Spenser has used pastoral to add yet another charm to his rich and varied epic. In so doing he has excellent precedent. Homer gives distinctly pastoral scenes on the island of the Cyclops,[1] in the home of Eumaeus the swineherd,[2] and even in Ogygia, the home of Calypso.[3]

Only the briefest glympse of the pastoral has entered the pages of Ariosto, but that is sufficient to establish the genre as a feature of epic romance. Angelica in her flight comes upon the wounded Medoro. She nurses him back to health in the shepherd's cottage. The ensuing love affair shows all the features of the court pastoral. The lovers wander in the woods, take refuge in grottos, carve their names entwined in love knots upon the trees, and Medoro writes at the entrance of the cave the poem to their love, the sight of which later drives Orlando to madness. The wanderings of the crazed Paladin afford a few vivid pictures of rural life.[4]

Tasso has given but one, but that a very perfect instance of pastoral. Verbal parallels prove that this has served as a suggestion for Spenser in two of his similar passages. Herminia, in her flight after her meeting with Tancred, finds refuge in the cottage of a shepherd.[5] The circumstances of her flight recall that of Florimel as she fled day and night[6] and was lost to view of her pursuers in the mazes of the forest. The discourse of Tasso's shepherd and of Meliboe is

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[1] Odyssey; Bk. IX.

[2] Ibid.; Bk. VII.

[3] Ibid.; Bk. VII. I regard this as the first Bower of Bliss, in which a hero is held captive to a sensuous enchantress, amidst ideal surroundings, and in perfect idleness.

[4] Or. Fu., XIX, 27 sq.; XXII, 115 sq., 135; XXIV, 5 sq.

[5] Ger. Lib., C. VII.

[6] F. Q., III, vii, 2; Ger. Lib., C. VII, 1-2.

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absolutely conventional material, but one circumstance forms an unmistakable link. When the shepherd in his youth sought the royal court, he was made curator of the Caliph's gardens, and Meliboe, under the same circumstances, "in the Prince's gardin daily wrought."[1] The significance here is not that of source, but of the critical spirit which led one author to thus measure his own work by that of another.

But Spenser's use of the genre, while probably consciously warranted by the passages cited, belongs to a wider movement. It is a part of the freedom with which he draws all forms of literature to enrich his epic world, and this in turn is a part of the great critical struggle which, originating in Italy, had reached England; a struggle which sought to break down the barriers of literary canon, and to win a place in literature for pastoral and romance, and to give to genius an untrammelled right to seek light and beauty in every field. In Italy, Giraldi, Guarini, Tigna and Tasso waged the battle. In England, Sidney queried, "If those are good a-part, why not together?" and Spenser--- wrote.

In direct contrast to the pastoral, and even less epic in character, are the satiric passages which appear in the Faerie Queene. We may pass over, as embodied in allegory and already discussed, the general satire upon the church.[2] The indifference of the world to poetry,[3] and the poet's own lack of success,[4] are reminiscences of earlier work, and need not detain us. The most palpable influence on Spenser in this matter, is the desire to emulate Ariosto. The mocking, irresponsible spirit of the Italian, however, eluded the more serious British poet. The satire of the former on church and priest,

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[1] F.Q., VI,IX,24.

[2] It appears in the Sh.Cal.:May, July, Sept. Eclogues; in M.H.T. ll.350-395; in R.T.,ll.71 sq.; F.Q., I,VI,xii.23-26.

[3] F.Q.,VI,xii,40-41;Sh.Cal.,Oct.Ec.;T.M.;Cr.Or.Fu.,C.XXXV,23-25.

[4] F.Q.,VI,ix,19-33;M.H.T.,ll.891-914; C.C.ll.680-730.

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men and morals, and especially upon women, flashed, glanced, and was followed by a peal of mocking laughter. Spenser, as did many others of his age, read in this mockery a broad humour which verged on moral looseness. In his imitations, therefore, there is less of satiric lightness, less of daring license, yet perhaps in some situations a more banal vulgarity, because no spirit of laughter veils the occasion. Three such episodes are the stories of Braggadocio and Trompart,[1] Paridell and Hellenore,[2] and of the Squire of Dames.[3] The first is especially interesting. It is clear from various common features, the theft of the armor, the stolen horse, and the incidents of the tournament, that Spenser had Ariosto in mind, but combined two characters, Agramante and Marc, in his conception of Braggadocio. It is also possible that under this story, Spenser again satirizes Alençon and Simier. This is the more probable as the affair with Alençon was for political reasons dragged out by the queen over a period of years.[4] If this satire exists, however, it is slight, and in no way interferes with the progress of the story by forced incident or interpolated line. The story of the Squire of Dames is a distinctly expurgated version of the Host's tale in Ariosto.

The spirit of these stories is foreign to Spenser's temperament, and despite their smooth articulation with the body of the Faerie Queene, they remain out of harmony with the aesthetic atmosphere of the poem. It is not a question of morals. The seductively sensuous had a

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[1] Bks. III, IV, and V.

[2] Bk. III. This has been already discussed, and is passed over here.

[3] F. Q., Bk. III, vii, 51 sq.; Or. Fu., C.27, C.28.

[4] Martin Hume: Courtships of Eliz., pp. 152 sq.

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tremendous appeal to Spenser, but the wit of the fabliaux, the sensual with a horse-laugh, was beyond his ken.

The use of the lyric monologue is another feature of a freer epic conception.[1] The lament of Odysseus when wrecked upon his raft has been pointed out by critics as a violation of epic narrative. In the Aeneid, the plaint, and indeed the whole story of Dido, has met with severe criticism as a departure from epic standard. In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, new forces were at work. The lyric of love and sorrow grew side by side with the romance of knightly adventure. It penetrated the latter, and when romance was taken over and remolded into the epic of culture, by Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto and Tasso, the lyric remained a constituent element.

Spenser has used the lyric freely. It assumes two forms,--the inserted songs and a plaint of misfortune. Of the songs, three in number,[2] two are adapted from three in Tasso, and are a most interesting illustration of Spenser's art. Read apart they seem but a copy or paraphrase; if compared, it will be seen that few words are the same, but sentiment, cadence, and atmosphere have been reproduced in so subtle a manner that they seem to have undergone a transformation, yet to have retained something of identity.

The lyric does not, in Spenser's hands, rise to any height of passionate expression. It is the perfectly conventional utterance in unhastened and correct phrase of the emotion proper to the circumstance and the person. But through his command of language and rhythm, he

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[1] Od., Bk. V.

[2] a) F.Q., IV, x, 44.: Song to Venus (V. Hughes). This song is taken from Lucretius' Invocation to Venus, V. also Berni, Orlan. Innam., L, ii, C. i, St. 2-3.; b) F.Q., II, VI, 15.: (This song was the inspiration of Tennyson's Lotus Eaters). Cf. Ger. Lib., Song of Nymph, C. XIV, 62-64. F.Q., II, xii, 74-75: Song of the Bower of Bliss--Cape Diem theme. Cf. Ger. Lib., Song at Fountain, C. XV, 62-64. (The song of Phaedria.

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attains a dreariness of cadence that has an atmospheric effect. Thus when Una hears of the R.C.K.'s misfortune, she reproaches her eyes that they still enjoy the light of day:

"Ye dreary instruments of dolefull sight,
That doe this deadly spectacle behold,"

and vows

"Mine eyes no more on vanities shall feed,
But, seeled up with death, shall have their deadly meed."

F.Q., I, vii, 22.

The knight himself within his prison, plains in

"--an hollow, dreary murmuring voyce",

"O, who is that which bringes me happy choyce
Of death, that here lye dying every stound,
Yet live perforce in baleful darknesse bound?"

I, viii, 39.

The lyric monologue is not to be undervalued, nevertheless, as a step, in however slight degree, toward a more psychic development of character. There exists in these utterances no evidences of doubt or inward struggle, but the revelation is subjective rather than objective, and this has its value. When the vigorous Britomart laments her love,[1] there is no resignation to fate as in the case of the pensive Una. There is both rebellion and determination as she bids the winds

"---------- bring my ship, ere it be rent,
Unto the gladsome port of her intent."

Spenser is alive to other possibilities of the monologue, and in the case of Sir Scudamour[2] and Florimel,[3] it is made to supply missing

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[1] F.Q., III, IV, 8-10. [2] Ibid., IV, xii, 6-11. ~~[3] Ibid., III, iv, 55 sq.~~

[2] F.Q., IV, XI, 9-11

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links of the story and to explain the situation, while Arthur's plaint[1] to night is made the vehicle of a series of classic reflections on the nature of night which serve the double purpose of ornament and display of learning.

It has been shown that the lyric entered epic by a legitimate line of descent, but, as has been shown in the case of the pastoral, so the introduction of the lyric is a part of a larger development. In the last quarter of the sixteenth, and first quarter of the seventeenth centuries, literary interest and production tended to centre in the drama. Spenser's varied use of the lyric implies consciousness of its dramatic functions, and his further employment of débat and masque strengthens the impression of dramatic influence.

The débat appears in the Faerie Queene in its two extreme forms, the mediaeval polemic dialogue, and the balanced repartee of courtly wit.[2] These passages, although perfectly fitted in their environment, preserve their individual types in a way unmistakable to students of the period. The artificial language of the court flows lightly from the poet's pen: Arthur meets Una, and

"With lovely court he gan her entertaine."

He sees her grief, and urges that she tell the cause of her "wondrous great grief", for

"Mishaps are maistred by advice discrete,
And Counsell mitigates the greatest smart."

"'O but,' quoth she, 'great griefe will not be tould,
And can more easily be thought then said.'
'Right so,' quoth he; 'but he, that never would,
Could never: will to might gives greatest aid.'
'But griefe,' quoth she, 'does greater grow displaid,

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If then it find not helpe, and breeds despaire.'
'Despaire breeds not,' quoth he, 'where faith is staid.'
'No faith so fast,' quoth she, 'but flesh does paire.'
'Flesh may empaire,' quoth he, 'but reason can repaire.'"

F.Q., I, vii, 41.

This is the language, a little graver, as befits the theme, of Shakespeare in Much Ado, and in the Two Gentlemen of Verona. Similar sparring repartee passes between Britomart and her nurse, until recognising its hollowness, the maiden exclaims:

"'These idle wordes --------- doe nought aswage
My stubborne smart, but more annoisunce breed;'"

F.Q. III, ii, 35 sq.

In striking contrast to this superficial form, although equally artificial and conventional, is the polemic dialogue. The latter, in its intrinsic nature, is adapted to Spenser's moral purpose, and becomes in his hands an effective instrument of expression. With perfect mastery of style, he preserves the nature of the genre while moulding both thought and expression to the context.

The first instance occurs between the R.C.K. and that dread enemy of the Christian soul, Despair, or Wan Hope. The contest is spiritual. The attack is a monologue of subtle dialectic broken but once, by the despairing Knight. Wan Hope pauses for no conclusion; he presses question upon question, building one upon the foundation of the unanswered last. He passes from the general to the particular, sapping hope and self-respect by an attack upon the Knight's own fall under the influence of Duessa, until at last the victim is ready to accept the proffered knife, and to end the vain struggle of life. The whole is a brilliant piece of sophistry, mediaeval in theme and matter. It has the curious effect of taking the reader into its con-

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fidence. Yet so intense is the effect of rhetoric concentration that it attains an almost piercing quality of morbid hopelessness.[1]

The passage in which Mammon tempts Guyon[2] more nearly approximates the common mediaeval dialogue. It is an evenly balanced moral debate in which the motif is temptation. Purely conventional in theme, its suggestion may be found in any of the class of Faustus stories.

Far more distinctive is the debate between Arthegall and the demagogue giant. Justice is the virtue of men and states, and the mission of Arthegall is to right political wrongs. The whole book is concerned with government and politics; hence the disputation is of the same themes. The general situation pits the gentleman against the peasant, the conservative against the radical. In particular, Spenser deals with the restless, turbulent spirit of Ireland, the justice of fixed laws, and the evil consequences of change. The discussion here, however, turns upon the adaptation of the dialogue as a literary genre rather than upon interpretation.[3] The dialogue, as a literary inheritance ~~of~~ from the classics, was preserved throughout the Middle Ages. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the genre underwent a popular revival. The growing concern with religion and political theory found this a popular medium of expression. The writer could not only assert his own views, but overthrow those of his adversary. Dialogue has been defined as a "hybrid genre---. Lying between the purely dogmatic treatise, on the one hand, and the professed drama on the other.----------."[4] It is just this attitude which Spenser has

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[1] I,ix,37 sq.

[2] II,vii,7 sq.

[3] Prof.Padelford interprets the debate as an attack on the Anabaptists: Jour.Eng.and Germ.Phil.,V.12,pp.434 sq.

[4] Prof.Herford: Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century, Cambridge, 1886.

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taken over, for his work is dramatic and at the same time expositional. No direct sources have been found for these instances of débat, but it is suggestive to find cited among the popular subjects of Elizabethan dialogues various "secular discussions of the vexations of the law,-----the troubles in Ireland."[1]

For light upon the fourth development we must again appeal to Herford. He tells us that the drama of "debate was known in Germany long before it appeared in England, where it was introduced in the reign of Edward VI by William Mason. In his hands it took the form of a "trial at bar", a procedure familiar in England. The "trial motive" lent itself to two distinct controversial purposes, neither of which was quite satisfied by the simple dialogue. "One who desired to mediate between extreme views, or to discriminate between better and worse arguments (or in general to represent any unpopular tertium quid), could scarcely put his case adequately in a colloquy of two persons. He demanded a more complicated type of discussion, with more speakers, finer gradations of opinion, clearlier marked phases of development."[2]

The above sets forth just the situation which confronted Spenser when he wished to deal with the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, as one of the great national events, and wished also to defend his patrons, Elizabeth and Leicester, for their part in the unfortunate queen's condemnation.[3] The episode is unique. A change from narrative to presentation would give a well defined Morality. A little more of the

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[1] Ibid., p.68.

[2] Ibid.,pp.56-57,64.

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spectacular would create a masque.[1] The first part of the description presents the court as a stage set for action. The formality of the grouping is that of the masque. The attendants of the queen are both allegoric and symbolic. If the witnesses spoke in person we should have pure drama, but here Spenser's epic instinct preserves narration. As one witness comes forward after the other, we lose the sense of a masque; the play is no longer play; it has grown serious. The sympathy and sorrow attributed to Mercilla extends to the scene. The prosecutors, Kingdoms Care and Law of Nations, are no jesters. Authority and Justice are no light courtiers. Slight indeed, as compared to these, are the defendants, Pittie, Womanhead, Nobilitie of Birth, and Griefe. Then troop in the vile witnesses, Strife, Sedition, Murder, Adultery. The scene is the work of an artist, skilled with his tools. Spenser preserves his allegory and epic dignity; at the same time he bends to his purpose another literary genre, and sets forth in striking fashion one of the most important ~~acts~~ occurrences of Elizabeth's reign.

From the embryonic influence of the drama exerted through the dialogue, we must pass to the brilliant spectacular element of the masque.

In a discussion of component literary genres, the masque must be ranked with romance in its influence upon Spenser. His epic is romance, but romance ennobled by ethic purpose, dignified by philosophic thought, and centralized by political intent. Moreover, it is romance presented in the stately pageantry of the masque, with tableau and processional.

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[1] F.Q., V.ii.21-50. The trial was a masque motif, but nowhere else do we find such earnest purpose as this of Spenser. Cf. Lydgate's four poems written for a mumming at Hertford (1427-30). Anglia, V.XXII (1899): Miss Hammond.

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To understand the hold of this form of entertainment upon the mind and the imagination, not only of Spenser but of all Elizabethans, it is necessary to review briefly its origin, popularity, and nature.

The Masque is a variant of the drama. The name appears upon the pages of the early chroniclers, and upon Court and State records as one of a series of overlapping terms, mumming, disguising, pageant and pastyme. The absolute distinction among these still affords ground for scholarly debate. The line of descent is from folk festival and Christian ceremonial. The more immediate source lies in the processional, triumph and folk mummings. Within the three centuries of its popularity it underwent many changes. From a crude disguising, organized by laymen, it became in the hands of Jonson, the skilled dramatist, a complete drama, plus the gorgeous spectacular element. In the hands of Milton, the great poet, it was made the medium of the most delicate fancy and finest literary expression.[1]

The earliest record of such an entertainment in England occurs in the Accounts of Robes of Edward III for 1347.[2] The elaborate details of the entry prove that the masque was not even then in its infancy. Other references follow. At the accession of Richard II in 1377, there was an elaborate mumming which introduced some crude satire on the unpopularity of the Pope's legates. Between 1427-30, Lydgate wrote four poems for a masking or disguising at Court. This is our first evidence for the introduction of the literary element. The themes are chivalric honor, political relations, adulation of royalty, and moral allegory. It is of special interest that one takes

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[1] Comus, 1634.

[2] Reyher, Paul: Les Masques Anglais, p.2. "Masques for 24 persons: vizards for women, and false faces for men, covered with beard, figures of angels, heads of dragons, heads and wings of peacocks, heads of swans, and tunics painted with peacock's eyes."

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the form of a trial. A proclamation of Henry V (1418) forbids men "to walke by nyght in eny manere mommyng, pleys, enterludes, or eny other disgisynges, with eny feyned berdis, peynted visirs, diffourmed or coloured visages in eny wyse." This edict points to popularity of masque, and its possible use for ulterior purposes. References occur with ever increasing frequency.[1] With the reign of bluff King Hal these shows reach their highest pitch of magnificent ostentation. Their prodigality beggars description. Contemporary records bristle with details. But in the brief reign of Edward VI, which must ever stand in the half light between the exuberant day of Henry VIII's rule and the gloom of Bloody Mary's dominion, Reyher tells us the masques took on a bizarre, grotesque character. We can readily understand how such motifs could be continued and even deepened to fear and horror under the stern and fanatical Mary.

With Elizabeth the masque revived with increased popularity. Shorn in some degree of its magnificence, the masque became more pastoral and literary in character. Campion, Daniel, Chapman, Sidney, and Gascoigne lent their talents to devise these royal entertainments, and under their influence the masque developed into slight but true drama. This fact, however, applied only to some of the masques. The state entertainments remained gorgeous and spectacular. The masques were given not only at Court, but to welcome the queen on her royal progresses among her people, and at the houses which she honored with her presence. The dominant note was adulation of the sovereign and woman. As in the reign of Elizabeth's father, these gorgeous shows became a part of national life. They attended all inductions to office. They demonstrated the wealth and power of England to foreign

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[1] Paston Letters, 1476; Household Book of John, Duke of Norfolk and Thos., Earl of Surry (1481-1490), (Ed. by Collier: Roxburghe Club, pp. 329-515.517.)

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ambassadors, and through suggestion convinced the populace of their own happiness and prosperity. The chronicler Hall[1] dwells upon these scenes with a detail which bespeaks pride in every line. The appeal of these magnificent spectacles to the sensuous wonder-seeking minds of the Elizabethans was enormous; their popularity exceeds all credulity. We know from contemporary satire that women sold their honor, and men fought for a position, to witness the pageantry.

We may well ask, what constituted the nature of this thing called a masque? Wherein lay the magnificence and charm of the spectacle? It lay in variety, that sauce piquante demanded by the Renaissance public. The pageantry combined music, singing, dancing, painting and architecture, everything that appealed to the senses. There were the Gods of Olympus, the monsters of Tartarus, all heroes of history, ladies of romance, fauns, satyrs, fairies, witches, all kinds of musical instruments, elaboration of the dance, measured action, and processional.[2] Through Reyher,[3] we may trace other elements:- songs, lyric poetry, "intermedes comiques", buffooneries, and bizarre characters of every description.

To these which constitute the external features, should be added more subtle characteristics: an intoxicating voluptuousness of scene, where all nature is enhanced by art, perfumes that floated through the air, seductive music, a spectacular brilliance that captivates the imagination either through awe or beauty, the ubiquitous didactic tendency of the age which leads forth allegory to point a moral or serve as a thin veil for the presentation of contemporary political situations; last, the masque was a royal recreation, and

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[1] Chronicle: Ed.1, 1548; Ed.2, 1550.

[2] Bayne: Masque and Pastoral; Camb.:Hist.Eng.Lit., V.VI, C.13, p.170.

[3] Op.Cit., pp.56-59.

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the wine of royalty is praise. The masque was a glittering world of romance, chivalry, wonder, and unreality. But that perquisite of all conventional religion, moral allegory, was ever at hand. A little, very little, below the surface, lay a political significance. Symbolism characterized each device, and gave a double, treble, or quadruple significance to every figure. How put into words the flexible, changing, shifting quality of these brilliant spectacles which held a different meaning for each spectator? And how portray the manner in which this subtle quality penetrated the inner consciousness of the poet, fired his imagination, moulded his technique, and offered its own form as a medium of expression for his thought?

More important even than the incorporation in his work of fully developed instances of the genre is the influence which the masque has exerted upon his style. This must be reserved for discussion under that head.

A few general features may be touched upon before proceeding to the formal masques.

First is a symbolic presentation of character. The pure but colorless Una is a figure of the masque. She rode —

"Upon a lowly asse more white than snow,
Yet she much whiter, but the same did hide
Under a vele, that wimpled was full low,
And over all a black stole did she throw,
As one that inly mourned: ---------

And by her in a line a milke white lamb she lad."

F.Q., I, i, 2.

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The symbolism repeats itself in the name, dress, the humble asse, and the "milke-white lamb". She is Truth, the type of pure religion, the one true Church, and is she not, too, the Grace of God which gives to man the "whole armor of righteousness"? She comes to rouse defenders for the true Church, just as a prototype came a century and a half earlier at the Court of Philip of Burgundy,[1] for there was presented a masque, which symbolized the political and religious situation of Europe, then threatened by the Turks, in which figured a lady of wondrous beauty, clad in the snowy garb of a religieuse, attended by Foi, Charité, Justice, Vaillance, and others. Her name was Grace-Dieu, and she sought defenders for the religion of Christ. Hall also records a pageant in which there was a "Nonne called Holy Church."[2] As the personification of virtue, Una's type appears in the masque too frequently to be cited.

This is but one of a series of such portraits, and there is but a step from this to the group tableau. Spectacular posing is a striking feature of the masque. Spenser sets the stage, lifts the curtain, and describes the scene.

The group in the Temple of Venus is notable:

"Right in the midst the goddess self did stande
Upon an altar of some costly masse,

And both her feete and legs together twyned
Were with a snake, whose head and tail were fast combyned.

"----------at the idole's feet apart,
A bevie of fayre damzels close did lye."

F.Q., IV, x, 39 sq.

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1 Olivier de la Marche: Memoires. Ed. by S.H.F. Masque given in 1454.

2 Chron. p. 720

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The first was Womahood, of "sad semblant and demeanure wyse", and next sat "goodly Shamefastnesse", in whose cheeks "roses oft appeare", "sweet Cherefulness", "sober Modestie", "comely Curtesie", "soft Silence", and "submisse Obedience", and in the very centre, even in the lap of Womanhood, sat lovely Amoret, "like to the Morne."[1]

This arrangement parallels that of the great pageants drawn into the hall on huge floats, or later staged at one end of the room.[2]

The attendants in the various allegoric houses and the scenes in the Faerie Queene recall not only the mediaeval allegories from which they are drawn, but similar figures ever present in the masque. The accession of Elizabeth was celebrated in London by magnificent pageants. In one of these, Pure Religion, Love of Subjects, Wisdom, and Justice stood treading under foot Superstition and Ignorance, Rebellion and Insolencie, Follie and Vaine Glorie, and Adulacion and Bribery. When she visited Bristow in 1574, she was met and conducted by a person named Faeme. At the next gate stood three other attendants, Salutacion, Gratulation, and Obedient Good Will. At Killingworth, she was attended by a huge porter, big of limb, with club and keys.[3]

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[1] For proof that Spenser was deliberately seeking a masque-like presentation in such grouping, we have but to turn to The Ruines of Time, l.489 sq.:

"Before mine eies strange sights presented were,
Like tragicke pageants seeming to appeare."

"I saw an image, all of massie gold
Placed on high upon an altare faire."

There follows a vision of a stately building, of a fair garden, a huge giant, a bridge of gold that spans the sea, and other things, all teeming with symbolism.

[2] Hall: Chron., p.301-302, 155-3, 799, 80; Castiglioni: Letteri, p.150 sq. (V. Solerti, Ferrara); Reyher, p.457: Venus presented in masque, surrounded by loves with lighted torches, who dance a masque.

[3] Nichols, V.I, p.6.

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A meeting was at one time planned between Mary and Elizabeth. It never took place, but Masques were prepared. The gods sent Peace to dwell with Prudence and Temperance. Two porters, Ardent Desire and Perpetuity, attended upon Prudence and Peace.[1] Spenser comparatively rarely invents his names, but in Sansfoy, Sansloy, and Sansjoy, there is an echo of the masque, and Bon Volure, Bon Foi, and Bon Courage rise to memory.[2]

Spenser's complete presentation of the masque takes the form of a processional. The first of these is the bizarre retinue from the House of Pryde. Lucifera enters her "coche"--

> "Great Junoes golden chayre the which they say
> The gods stand gazing on when she does ride
> To Joves high hous, through heavens bras paved way,
> Drawne of fayre pecocks, that excell in pride,
> And full of Argus eyes their tayles dispridden wide.
> But this was drawne of six unequal beasts,
> On which her six sage counsellors did ryde."

There were "sluggish Idlenesse, the nourse of sin" upon a "slouthful asse", loathsome Gluttony on filthy swine, lustful Lechery on "bearded goat", greedy Avarice "uppon a camell loaden all with gold", malicious Envy on a "ravenous wolfe", and beside him "revenging Wrath" upon a lion:

> "And after all, upon the wagon beame,
> Rode Sathan with a smarting whip in hand."

F.Q., I, iv, 17 sq.

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[1] Ryher: p. 126. Cf. F.Q., I, iv, 6; I, viii, 30; I, x, 3; II, ii, 14; II, vii, 40; II, ix, 11, 21.

[2] Cf. also Hall: p. 517.

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To read the direct source of this passage, Gower's Mirour de l'Homme,[1] and then to turn to Spenser, keenly accentuates the masque quality of his presentation. The procession passes slowly before our eyes, we have time to single out each symbolic detail, until the whole stands as a gruesome, warning picture. The allegory of the Middle Ages had endowed these abstractions with a fixed personality, which lived in the concept of the people. Spenser taught his lesson in familiar terms when he showed the Seven Deadly Sins. Nor were these figures strangers in the masque. In the Macro Plays[2] there is a masquerade of vices. Rankin's A Mirrour of Monsters (1587) depicts a masque composed of vices. The Duke of Lunenburgh brought in a masque of the "Seaven Deadly Sinnes" to entertain the English Ambassadors (1596).[3] In Marlowe's Faustus (1600) the seven deadly sins dance before the unfortunate man. Truly, in his use of familiar topics, Spenser seems to think with Aristotle, one of the greatest of pleasures is recognition.[4]

The wedding "betwixt the Medway and the Thames"[5] is Spenser's most stately, wonderful and beautiful masque. He describes it as an eye-witness, now with exquisite detail, again with lists of sonorous names that in themselves sound a march. There are bits of gossip about the participants that in some way do not interrupt the processional, but merely give time for the slow passing of a throng:

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[1] See J. L. Lowes: P. M. L. A., 1914. Prof. Lowes traces borrowings from a similar passage in the Confessio Amantis.

[2] E. E. T. S., V. 91: Wisdom (abt. 1475): pp. 58-60.

[3] Nichols: Queen's Prog., V. II, p. 14.

[4] Poetics: XI, 1-8; XVI, 1-8.

[5] F. Q., IV, xi, 8 sq.

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"First came great Neptune with his three forkt mace,
That rules the seas and makes them rise or fall;
His dewy locks did drop with brine apace,
Under his diademe imperiall:
And by his side his queene with coronall,
Faire Amphitrite, most divinely faire,
Whose yvorie shoulders weren covered all,
As with a robe with her owne silver haire,
And deckt with pearles, which th'Indian seas for her
prepaire."

Then follow a host of sea gods. Albion is made a son of Neptune, and given a birth-right to place in the noble throng. The English rivers are quaintly characterized:

"The chaulky Kenet and the Thetis gray,
The morish Cole, and the soft sliding Breame,
The wanton Lee ----------"

The "plenteous Ouse" affords a tribute to

"My mother Cambridge, whom as with a crowne,
He doth adorne, and is adorn'd of it,
With many a gentle muse and many a learned wit."

The Irish rivers are not forgotten:

"There was the Liffy rolling downe the lea,
The sandy Slane, the stony Aubrian,
The spacious Shenan spreading like a sea,
The pleasant Boyne, the fishy, fruitful Ban."

Then comes the bride,"the lovely Medua", attended by rivers and all the nymphs, the fifty daughters of Nereus and "grey eyde Doris."

The masque occupies almost a whole canto, and is a passage of noble beauty. Spenser's spectacular conception is tremendous. The

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command of metre and rhythm displayed in the articulation of the names is a triumph of technique. There is a proud nationalism in the way in which he groups the rivers of his native land with the famed figures of the classic world. The whole has a spirit of freedom and movement that makes us wish that Spenser had oftener broken the bonds of convention, and bridged as great a gap as lay between his poem and its chief source, Holinshed's Chronicle.[1]

Most famous of the processionals is the passage openly proclaimed by the poet as "The Maske of Cupid".[2] Britomart watches alone in the house of Busyrane. Suddenly the "yron wicket" flies open:

"As it with mighty levers had been tore;
And forth yssewed as on the readie flore
Of some theatre, a grave personage,
That in his hand a braunch of laurell bore,
With comely haveour and count'nance sage,
Yclad in costly garments, fit for tragicke stage."

Minstrells, bards and rymers enter and sing

"A lay of loves delight, with sweet concent:
After whom marched a jolly company,
In manner of a maske, enranged orderly.

"The whiles a most delitious harmony
In full straunge notes was sweetly heard to sound,
That the rare sweetnesse of the melody
The feeble senses wholy did confound,
And the frayle soule in deepe delight nigh drownd."

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[1] It is interesting to note the recognition of the Masque qualities of Spenser's poem by later writers, for whom it proved a veritable quarry. Cf. Jonson's Masque of Blackness (1605); Masque of the Sea Nymphs (Francis Davison), given at Gray's Inn, 1595.

[2] F.Q. III.xii.

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These lines impart something of the seductive charm of the masque, its wonder and expectancy, for

"---- When it ceast, shrill trompets loud did bray,
And when they ceast, it gan againe to play,
The whiles the maskers marched forth in trim aray."

Fancy, like a lovely boy waving his feathery plumes, Desyre, Doubt, Daunger, then pale Feare, Hope, Dissemblaunce and Suspect, Grief, and Fury scattering fire, Displeasure and Pleasure; then came a lady led by Cruelty and Despyght, her breast gaping with a wide wound, and behind her the Winged God himself, riding upon a lion, and shaking his dreadful darts,--

"And clapt on hie his coloured winges twain
That all his many it affraide did make."

There followed him Reproch and Repentaunce, and after them the mob of passions, "a rude confused rout", among them Strife, Anger, Unquiet, Care, Unthriftyhead, Lewd Losse of Time, Sorrow, Inconstant Chaunge, Disloyalty, Consuming Riotise, Dread, Infirmity, Vile Poverty, Death with Infamy, and many more like evils,-

"So many moe as there be phantasies
In wavering wemens witt,-------
Or paine in love, or punishments in hell,
All which disguized marcht in masking wise."

No comment is needed to point out that we have here a masque complete and beautiful in detail, nor will any mere comment convey the quality of symbolism. The point of interest lies in the stock nature of the material from which the poet has developed his own creation.

In the citations which follow, for the sake of emphasizing the stock character of masque motifs, some features have been included

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which have been used by Spenser elsewhere than in the Masque of Cupid.

Love and Beauty figured in the Masque of Dreams,[1] which celebrated the wedding of Francesco de Medici (1515). At the door there were monsters of the deep and Tritons blowing horns. In the Myth of Psyche, shown at the same time, Cupid was attended by Hope, Fear, Grief and Gladness, and Furies shook their whips as in Spenser's masque. The close showed Hymen upon the Heliconian Mount, much as Spenser pictures the nymphs upon the same mountain, who dance and cry "Hymen io Hymen!"[2]

At the wedding of Alfonso d'Este (1502) a masque of Cupid was given. Castiglioni's account of Bibbiene's Calandria notes masques between the acts, the second of which is a masque of Venus. Neptune is drawn by sea-horses and Juno by peacocks, while Love gives the epilogue.[3] There were also masques given at Urbino, close in character to Signorelli's Triumph of Cupid, and to Petrarch's Trionfi,[4] while Lorenzo de Medici's Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne exhibits many of the same features.

Henry VIII in 1521 gave a masque in honor of Anne Boleyn. Amorus (the king) comes in attended by Nobleness, Youth, Attendaunce, Loyaltie, Pleasure, Gentleness and Liberty. Ardent Desire clad in crimson decorated with burning flames of gold, leads the company against Scorn and Disdain, and drives them away.[5]

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[1] I have no hesitancy in citing Italian literature as part of a common stock in the 16th century. My study has revealed to me more intimate literary relations between Italy and the other countries of Europe than has even yet been demonstrated. Hall notes a new masque "after the manner of Italie" in 1513 (p.526). Ronsard states the masque was introduced into England and France from Italy. It is certain that at one time or another all the striking features of the brilliant series of Italian masques extending from the last quarter of the 15th century to the first quarter of the 16th found reflection in the English masque.

[2] F.Q., I,i. Dream of R.C.K.

[3] Symonds, p.322.

[4] Ibid., p.325.

[5] Hall, p.631.

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In 1553, a Masque of Cupid[1] and Le Triomphe de Cupidon[2] are recorded as prepared for Edward VI. Many features of the latter were embodied in a masque given before Elizabeth in St. Stephen's Parish. On her visit to Hertford she was entertained by a processional masque on the water in which Nereus led the way, followed by nymphs, Tritons, and Oceanus. At Kenilworth, the famous Lake Masque was given.

The theory that Spenser employed chiefly well known and popular motifs stands unimpeached here. No brief summary can convey the uniformity with which motifs were repeated in the production of masques. It has nevertheless been shown that much of Spenser's work is an enhanced presentation of conventional material.

In the Masque of Cupid, however, Spenser has created an atmosphere in which dread, rather than triumph and joy, is the predominant sense. This atmosphere does not exist in the masque prototypes. True, the mediaeval conception of Love made him the oldest and most powerful of the gods, and included the idea of his cruelty. His attendants in this masque are partly conventional, but the over-emphasis of this darker element calls for consideration. A suggestion may be hazarded as to a possible influence in Mambriano, Francesco Bello's rendition of Boiardo's poem. Here Orlando enters alone the seemingly deserted temple of Mars[3], and finds pictured upon the walls[4] a procession very like in conception, atmosphere, and grouping to that portrayed by Spenser. The parallels are not exact, but

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[1] The Losely Ms.: Ed. A. J. Rempe, London, 1835, pp. 39-40. Masque in charge of Sir George Howard.

[2] Reyher, p. 125. Ferrers in charge of masque.

[3] This same motif has come down from Statius (Thebaide, vii) through Boccaccio (Teseide, VII) and Chaucer (Knight's Tale).

[4] It should be observed there is a strong relation between the painted walls and tapestries and the themes and presentations of the masque. Reyher, p. 115, p. 7, 173-75; Hall, p. 791-792; Nichols, p. 34.

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suggestive.[1] In each presentation, there is a god whose pride entails unnumbered woes upon his followers. His evil servitors crowd about him. The order of march is not the same, but the grouping is strikingly similar, and the likeness is emphasized by common features of detail. The strongest parallel exists in the atmosphere, which in both is one of dread and wretchedness. Spenser's work is more expanded, and richer in ornament and symbolism than that of Bello; this is his method of developing material. The relation between the two is by no means fixed, but it is entirely within the range of probability, because the group of Orlando poems,[2] shining in the reflected fame of Ariosto's great work, were widely known.

It has been stated that Spenser's use of allegory, moral and political, is strongly influenced by the masque. This view rightly calls for a detailed substantiation, which cannot be entered upon here. Only a few of the more important points can be noted:

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1 For the sake of brevity, parallels from the F.Q. are inserted in parentheses, and without comment.

Orlando, stopped by none, enters the temple and looks about. The pictured walls are wrought in metal, iron (gold). There is a frieze of bows, quivers, arrows, darts, shields and arbelasts (a "border" of broken bows and arrows). Hate and Discord, threatening Pride and Ambition, Hatred and Envy are portrayed upon the walls. Then Orlando sees the God of War, and the rest is told as action. Fame precedes the god, beating his wings. (Fantasy preceded Love, waving his plumes. Love himself "clapt on hye his colourd winges twaine"). Anger and Fury come scattering fire and darts. (Griefe and Fury matcht yfere"; the latter tosses a firebrand about her head). Baseness comes, embraced by Fear, who seeing fire and sword on every side seeks to fly, but finds no refuge. (Fear follows Daunger, and flees at clash or sight of arms.) Then in a crowd come Rashness, Daring, Sloth, Folly, Pride, Cruelty, Fraude, Malice, Plots, Treachery, Violence, Sedition, and Lying. ("--a confused rout of persons flockt," sterne Strife, stout Anger, Unquiet Care, Unthriftyhead, Losse of Time, Sorrow, Chaunge, Disloyalty, Riotise, Dread Infirmity, vile Poverty, and lastly Death with Infamy.) With violence they drag in their midst captive Justice oppressed and down-treaden. (After all these, led by Despight and Cruelty, came a captive lady whose feet could scarce her sustain.) Torture and Death come. Sorrow follows last with all the multitude of wounded, Wretchedness and Misery of every sort, and infinite Torments, every evil and no good. (Last came "many moe like maladies.")

2

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He deals with large political situations, which affect the nation; so do the masques. He deals with personalities and social situations.[1] The masques, too, are occasional pieces, replete with compliment, allusion, innuendo, suggestion, warning and symbolism. A figure in a masque signifies many things; so do many of Spenser's characters. The masque presents a fleeting, shifting view of all situations, and so does Spenser's allegory.[2]

The masque was the cartoon of its day, and Spenser catches something of the same quality in his passing pictures. Finally, the masque is not a purposeful, rounded exposition of political problems or policy; these matters are but side lights, as it proceeds upon its function of spectacular display. In the same manner, Spenser's political allegory illumines his great story as it goes on its uninterrupted way.

With the consideration of the masque, practically closes the discussion of literary genres as they appear in Spenser. But one other class, near of kin to the masque, must be noted in passing.[3] This is the Court of Love material,[3] and its twin sister, Platonism.

This subtle, pervasive, and artificial genre has a shibboleth of its own. When Arthur and Una parley in balanced phrase, they speak the language of the Court of Love.[4] When in the bowers of Acrasia, the birds sing above the sound of music, the rippling fountains breathe forth perfume, the nymphs dance clothed in rosy garlands,

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[1] Reyher, pp.135 sq.

[2] Note complaint by James VI of Scotland against Spenser, for satirizing his mother, Mary, in Trial of Duessa, F.Q., V. See Cal.Scot.State Papers (1509-1603), pp.723-747.

[3] A fuller discussion has been purposely omitted on account of the forthcoming dissertation of my friend and fellow student, Dr. E.B. Fowler.

[4] F.Q., I, viii, 39-41.

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and the noble youth languishes of love and pours out his very soul in seductive sensuousness, we have a Court of Love scene and incident.[1]

When the Red Cross Knight, with no thought of earthly union, serves and follows Una, heeding her warnings, leaning on her inspiration and guidance, we have Platonism.[2] Platonic, too, is Arthur's love for the Faerie Queene, whom he patiently seeks not as an earthly love, but as an ideal. Paridell's wooing of Hellenore, with its fixed code of signs, amorous glances, and languishing sighs, gives another phase of the genre.[3] The punishment of Mirabella[4] and her antecedent trial in the Court of Cupid, is another Court of Love motif,[5] for in earlier days, a formal trial for some offense against the God of Love was a favorite pastime among the votaries of this cult. The great masters of the genre, Jean de Mehun, Guillaume de Lorris, and their disciples, Marot, Des Champs, and Chaucer, were the teachers of Spenser, and he has drawn from them the ultra-refinement, the artificial code of love and manners, and the heightened nature which characterise the genre and color his own work.

In the discussion of the literary genres embraced in Spenser, there has been a primary and a secondary aim,--first, to demonstrate the breadth in his conception of the epic; second, to show his method of handling the material. Taken together, the effort has been to show how Spenser assimilated and created anew from the older material.

We have seen how he ravelled and rewove the older romances, the contemporary epics, history, the classics, biblical and folk material; how he drew to his service allegory, pastoral, lyric, satire, the debat and the masque; and how of all these he has created a great and

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[1] Ibid., II, xii, 42 sq.

[2] Ibid., I.

[3] Ibid., III, ix.

[4] Ibid., V.

[5] Cf. Romania, V. 29. 1900. pp. 85 sq. Neilson: The Purgatory of

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stately epic romance, enriched with the treasures of all literature. The art which made this transmutation was guided by three critical theories: variety, imitation, and invention. It has been pointed out that from its inception in Aristotle, side by side with the classic standard of the epic has grown a freer conception. This fact must be repeated and emphasized here. Authority is binding. The old formulae are repeated from Aristotle to Boileau, a classic figure purely regular, "splendidly null"; but beside her stands another, vine-crowned, pulsing with the eagerness of life, thrilling to joy or sorrow, responsive to the war blare of trumpets, to pipes of Pan, and to the softer lyric notes of love. This is a later muse, and she it is who guides the footsteps of Spenser.

Variety and the use of episode have been treated under structure, but it is necessary to return to the theme here in broader terms.

A passage from Music was quoted at the beginning of this discussion, in which the author stated the epic was a picture of the world, comprising within itself every style and every genre. Spenser's epic is an embodiment of this pronouncement. His freedom is not merely the imitation and rivalry of Ariosto; it is the culminating swell of a tidal wave originating in Italy and spreading over Europe. Again it must be said that the great function of criticism is to establish a reconciliation between popular creative material and artistic form. A literature of adventure, romance and love had grown up in Europe before the Renaissance drew forth the classics from their hiding places, and attempted to fix the shackles of their rules upon the young literature. Genius had risen at times. Dante in his epic of mystic love and philosophy, Petrarch in his sonnets, Boccaccio in his inventions had left an inheritance for the ages. Boiardo and Ariosto wrote before the Poetics of Aristotle[1] had been adopted as the critical creed.

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1 Aristotle's authority had not become supreme in the early

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And there were not wanting men from the first to question Aristotle's autocracy, or rather the too rigid interpretation of his theory.[1]

The De Arte Poetica of Vida, written too early to be dominated by Aristotelian influence, is an expansion of the poetic theories of Horace, applied to the epic and illustrated by the practice of Vergil. Practical and authoritative as is this earliest expression of prescriptive epic formulae, Vida slips in a note of freedom. He accepts fiction, scarcely qualifying it by the warning that it should wear the face of truth.[2] The "dulcia mendacia," he says, "are not designed to deceive, even though shadowed under the religion of the gods." They but hold the mind, and they are —

"Omnia quae porta veniunt insomnia eburna."

He reiterates the Horatian laws of unity (Bk. I, ll. 50-55; ll. 160-165). He bids the poet let others choose the great design, and content himself with the narrowed theme--

"----------ubi sint omnia culta
Et visenda novis iterumque iterumque figuris."

Bk. II, ll. 390-1.

But if, he adds, the wide spaces of long ways are dear to your heart,

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[1] In the centuries immediately following Aristotle, his fame as a philosopher and scientist obscured his value as a critic. The question of the transmission of his theories from one rhetorician to another is one which remains unsettled for me at present. For all practical purposes, the influence of the Poetics begins with the 16th Century, and becomes paramount at the end of the second quarter. It begins with the Latin translation by Giorgio Valla (Venice, 1498); a Greek text--Aldine Pub. 1508; Pazzi (1536): Revised Latin version; Robertelli: Crit. Ed. 1548; Segni: Ital. Trans., 1549.

[2] De Arte P., Bk. II, ll. 304-6.

"Hoc quoque non studiis levioribus instat
Curandum ut, quando non semper vera profamur
Fingentes, saltem sint illa simillima veris.
ll. 315 sq. Nam quae multa canunt ficta, et non credita vates,
Dulcia quo vacuas teneant mendacia mentes,
Illis nulla fides, quam nec sibi denique aperti
Exposcunt, nec dissimulant, licet omnia obumbrent
Relligione Deum, quae non credenda profantur."

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then draw out your theme by art; there are a thousand ways, a thousand fashions, for many figures may be added, feigned things to true, and on every side are to be found the seeds of variety.

In style and language he again champions freedom and variety.[1]

"Non aliter vates nunc huc traducere mentes,
Nunc illuc animisque legentum apponere gaudet
Diversas rerum species, dum taedia vitat."

Bk.III,ll.70-72.

Moreover, in the midst of epic discussion, he advocates the lyric to speak love or woe to solitary woods and caves.[2]

These indications of elasticity in the epic code, inserted within some two thousand lines of conventional rule and example, are slight but not negligible witnesses of the existence of a double standard. Danielle in his treatise,[3] a modest and informal affair as compared to the expositions of Trissino, Minturno and Scaliger, combines in an easy fashion the rulings of Aristotle and Horace. He cites Dante, Petrarch, and even Boccaccio, equally with Vergil and Homer, for the purpose of illustrating his theories. He follows Aristotle in his discussion of historians and poets, but declares the same incidents serve both, as amplifications, digressions, and variety, and he concedes to the poet the "amplissimo priuilegio di poter finger molte cose a sua uoglia." He may mix false with true, and is strongly advised to see that his matter is full of marvel, charm, and delight, and above all is urged to seek new and magnificent matters with which to delight the mind.[4] Nevertheless, in the matter of unity he is firm, and repeats several times that the poem must be of one piece, and that the end must correspond with the beginning. He states that narration must be brief,

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[1] Ibid., Bk.III,ll.96-100,112-115;148-9.
[2] Ibid.,ll.130-5.
[3] Della Poetica,1536.
[4] Ibid.,p.41.

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clear and probable. He expands the thought in unequivocal terms. Only necessary matter must be included; the matters first proposed must be first set forth, preserving the order of time and place; for probability (verisimilitude) there must be preserved in persons, time and place, a proper agreement with opinions of men, with authority, with custom and with religion.[1] Then there follows the quaintest and most complete qualification of theory in the range of critical literature, for Daniello adds: "It would not displease me that you in your poem should sometimes either depart from the beginning of your narration, or deviating from the proposed matter, wander a little; for this one point may make the poem more pleasurable and delightful than all the other parts, and fill the reader with revishing delight through variety. True, in the next lines he warns against the "too much", but the statement has already been made which reveals the true undercurrent of criticism; for beneath the almost superstitious respect for classic authority, lies the Renaissance zest for life and variety.[2] It is the expression in literature of individuality and of adventure.

At the turn of the century stands Muzio, a true apostle of freedom. The lines embodying his conception of the epic, which stand at the beginning of this study, are the epitome of his liberal views.

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[1] Ibid.,p.54. "Oltre a cio bisogna che noi vediamo anchora desser nelle narration nostre breui, aperti, et probabili. Breui saremo se quelle cose che noi stimiano esser piu necessarie toccheremo,& taceremo quelle che cosi necessarie non saranno; ma scuerchie. Aperti,quelle che prima state fatte siano primieramente esponendo l'ordine pero de tempi, & de luoghi seruando. Probabile, se noi alle persone, a i tempi, a i luoghi,quelle cose che sporre si deono ci'ingegneremo di far che consentimo; & quelle medesime con l'opinione de gli huomini con l'autorità,col costume; & saranno con la relligione congiunti."
It is permissible to call attention here to the fact that the foregoing is in intention a fairly clear statement of the "unities". Cf.Spingarn: Lit. Crit. of Ren.,pp.97-93. The formulation of the unity of place is attributed to Castelvetro.

[2] Daniello admits some interchange of characteristics between

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But even this condensed and authoritative expression is insignificant in comparison with the theme and tone of his work, for everywhere variety is emphasized. He tells us the poem which delights the mind is that which varies well its pictures.[1] He gives long lists of incidents. For many of these he depends upon Vergil, but he refers to other writers. Study and personal experience are necessary. If the poet wishes a heart that will not fail upon the road to the stars, he must traverse the earth, not only in books and pictures, but he must himself furrow the salt sea, pass over plains, climb mountains, and see kings.[2]

Beside Muzio stands Giraldi Cinthio. His work is even more pertinent to this study than that of Muzio, for he devotes his whole treatise to the discussion of romance from the standpoint of heroic poetry, as an epic adapted to its own age. He founds his theories upon a liberal interpretation of Aristotle. He claims that the romances are based upon Greek and Latin models.[3] They are the stories of brave cavaliers; "hence in their composition are to be seen brave and noble deeds, mixed with love, courtesy, jests and strange happenings, in the fashion of the Greeks and Latins in their writings."[4]

The difference in the classic and romantic epic lies in a different social order.[5] He upholds unity,[6] and lauds variety. There is no reason that the poet may not follow historic order,[7] but there must be a main action to which minor episodes are related. He says: "la varietà --------- è il condimento del diletto", and since romance in its breadth allows the treatment of more varied phases of action and emotion, it is superior to the poem of a single action: "Si possono,----,

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[1] Dell'Arte Poetica, Bk.II,p.82. [2] Ibid.,p.83; Bk.II,p.88.
[3] Giraldi Cinthio: Discorsi di'Romanzi, p.7. [4] Ibid.,p.7.
[5] Ibid.,p.35. [6] Ibid.pp.20,28,29,30. [7] Ibid,p.24

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far venire nelle composizioni amori, avvenimenti improvvisi, cortesie, giustizie, torti, liberalità, vizi, virtu, offensioni, difese, inganni, insidie, fede, lealtà, fortezza, dappocaggini, speranze, timori, utili, danni ed altri tali episodj o digressioni, i quali sono più che molti, e possono indurre insieme con la ligatura e con la disposizione dell opera, tanta varietà e tanto diletto, che diverrà il poema vaghissimo e piacevolissimo, senza que'rompimenti che sono stati usati da'nostri scrittori, i quali però non voglio biasimare, anzi lodarli poiche necessitati per le cagioni già dette, non potevano altrimenti fare per condurre al fine le opere loro."[1]

Guarini, although the date of his writings is later, belongs to this group. His battle was for freer dramatic composition, but he frequently makes his theories applicable to the epic.[2] The value of variety and episodes is stressed.[3] The unity of poetry, he says, is not to be measured with the plumb line of philosophy, but as to this, "if Ariosto has sinned, he has sinned in the company of him whom the world has called divine, Homer."

The value of Muzio,[4] Giraldi, and Guarini[5] as critics has been obscured by the more voluminous and authoritative works of Trissino, Minturno, and Scaliger. The sixteenth century was an age in which writing was a popular accomplishment, hence critical formulae acquired an undue weight. To the pedant, the rigid classic ruling was a means to restore the ancient glory and dignity of literature.

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[1] Ibid.,p.49.

[2] Opere,Vol.III. Reply to Del Nores,p.175.

[3] Ibid.,pp.355,358.

[4] Muzio is frequently cited by contemporary writers.

[5] The two last were both controversialists. This fact always militates the value of critisism.

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To the rhymester the epic prescriptions formed a mechanical opening to literature. For both classes it was an economy of invention, yet both missed the fact that an inward light, not an outward form, constituted true poetry, and made, as Giraldi discovered of Homer, the universal appeal.[1] However, amidst the dogma of even the above named three formalists, there had crept a notable emphasis upon variety and episode. Minturno allows some admixture of forms.[2] Scaliger admits some comic elements in tragedy.[3] He also says: "Argumentum ergo breuissimum accipiendum est: idque maximè varium multiplexque faciendum."[4]

The position of Castelvetro in its seeming contradiction is peculiarly illustrative of Renaissance criticism as a whole. The distinctive feature of his criticism is an emphasis of art as an end in itself. This connotation of the term at times degenerates into mere craftsmanship. He gives the unities of time and place[5] the importance which they later held. The merit of their observance lies in the opportunity afforded for the display of the poet's skill.[6] Therefore he distinctly states, "the plot of the epic should consist of one action of one person, not through necessity, but as a demonstration of the excellence of the poet."[7] But aside from consideration of skilled craftsmanship, he favors broader action, and says later, "no tragedy or comedy is worthy of praise which has not two actions, that is, two plots, though the one may be the principal and the other accessory."[8] Since the epic has not the limitations imposed by presentation, it can relate "not only one action, but many and much longer ones, and these as having happened in various countries."[9] He disagrees

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1 V. Supra, C. II, p.

2 L'Arte Poetica, Bk. I, p.4.

3 Poetices, Lib. I, C. ii, p.19.

4 Ibid., Bk. III, C. 97, p.145.

5 Ed. of Aristotle's Poetics, p.109. Cf. Supra, p.60.

6 P--.d'A--.p.534-5.

7 Ib., p.179.

8 Ib., p.692.

9 Ibid., p.179.

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with Aristotle's condemnation of the Heracleid: "If history can recount in one story the many actions of one person, or the one action of a whole race, so can poetry." He adds: "E non solamente pure nella poesia si potra narrare una attione d'una gente, ma anchora piu attioni d'una gente. E si lei si concederà la narratione di molte attioni di molte persone, o di molte gente, non però veggo che biasimo alcuno le debba seguira."[1]

It is needless here to enter upon the endless disputation of the Della Crusca. That such a battle could be fought either for or against literary freedom is evidence of the strides it had made as a recognized criterion.

Tasso is the exponent both of classic unity and romantic variety. In some respects he more nearly approaches the temper and method of Spenser than any other critic. He was himself a great poet, with high and serious aim, yet gifted with an exuberant and delicate fancy. His critical writings are voluminous. The Dell'Arte Poetica, a product of his youth, echoes in fragmentary fashion many critics of the day. To him, as to Muzio, the epic was a world.[2] As in Castelvetro, the "difficulty overcome" was the point of meretorious art. He states that variety is praiseworthy only in proportion as it is difficult. It is easy to secure variety in separate actions: "ma che la stessa varietà in una sola azione si trovi, 'hoc opus, hic labor est.'" In that variety which is born of a multitude of stories, there is some art or genius which is common both to the learned and unlearned poet. The variety which preserves the unity of a single action depends wholly upon the art of the poet; it is intrinsic with him; by him alone it is recognized, nor can it be secured by one of mediocre genius. The former delights just so much the less as it is more confused and less

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[1] Ibid.,p.504.

[2] Dell'Arte P--.p. 45.

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intelligible; the latter through its order and the ligature of its parts, will be not only more clear and more distinct, but will convey more of novelty and marvel. And as every other poem which is called by the common name heroic, so that which treats of the arms and loves of heroes and errant cavaliers should be one in form and story.[1]

There is further emphasis upon variety. He dwells upon the subject in Del Poema Eroico,[2] but beside it urges the classic model of unity. He teaches variety of "costume"[3] in his epic world, and lauds Homer for his diversity which exceeds that of all other poets. Here there is justification of Spenser's introduction of low characters, for Tasso declares that Homer attains the heights of the most noble action and the depths of the low, yet preserves decorum.[4] Again, in Delle Differenze Poetiche, he refuses tragi-comedy as impossible according to Aristotle,[5] but in the epic admits far greater variety. Tasso's treatment is typical. He posits unity, and tempers the rule by observations on variety. He urges variety, and qualifies his teaching by a warning anent unity. But with him, as we have seen with other critics, variety is the great sine qua non.

Evidence could be multiplied indefinitely. It was an age of voluminous writing, which in itself breeds inconsistency. The revival of classic standards in the midst of a new and growing literature necessarily involved contradiction. Ingegneri dwells upon the new style, and writes: "We have received our literature not only augmented but changed, and it should be seen to that if they do not yield to the authority of ancient writers however celebrated, the new forms are founded upon reason and that they conform at least to approved experience.[5]

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[1] Ibid.,p.45. [2] Del Poema Eroico,p.162.

[3] This word has no counterpart in English. It means characteristic manners.

[4] Ibid.,p.165. [5] Ibid.,p.438. [6] See Guarini: Opere, V.III.

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The critic here, possibly with some regret but inevitably, strikes the flag to the new regime. The new poetry, he tells us, is rich, acute and fertile in thought, attractive in expression, but it is vain to expect unity of story. People are drunk with "di quella smisurata dolcezza delle parole", and the less of real value and moral doctrine poetry contains the more they value its lightness.

- The classic school of France has its apostates. Vauquelin de la Fresnaye composed his L'Art Poetique when the school of Ronsard was at its height. He repeats the epic prescriptions formulated by the Italians from the teachings of Horace and Aristotle, and still further conventionalized by Ronsard and his group. He exalts art,[1] and says:

"---- il faut de cet art tous les preceptes prendre
Quand tu voudras parfait vn ouvrage rendre."

But se ting aside his own petty rules, he conceives the epic as a growing, living thing, untrammelled by form or artificial limits; for he writes:

"Such a work is like to teeming pastures,
Where lie broad meadows and rich herbage,
Where stand high forests and thick groves,
Where flow clear streams, and restful shadows lie."

There follow a hundred details, each adding breadth and variety to the rich design.[2] In the heroic poem, every man finds what is most pleasing to himself, whether it be the flower of history, the beauty of language, richness of figures, or delightful fiction. He draws from its teachings that suited to his humor, whether it be reason and discourse to form manners, or something more sublime, which through the shadow of obscure ways shows the path which leads mortals to

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[1] Bk. I, ll. 145-8; 159-172, 178.

[2] Bk. I, ll. 447-456.

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happiness, and holds the spirit safe.[1]

Then, rivalling Muzio, he says:

"C'est vn tableau du monde, vn miroir qui raporte
Les gestes des mortels en différente sorte."

ll.471-2.

Again follows a series of details which would include all the variety of the Faerie Queene,[2] and Vauquelin concludes:

"Car toute Poesie il contient en soymême
Soit tragique ou comique, ou soit autre Poeme."

ll.503-4.

Hence we too may conclude so surely as Spenser with conscious and elaborate art has extended his epic to embrace high and low estate, the pangs of love, the weighty cares of government, the teachings of Christianity and of philosophy, just so surely he had found his justification in contemporary literature and criticism.

Spenser attained his variety through imitation. This was one of the cardinal principles of Renaissance criticism. As a formulated theory, imitation takes its origin from Plato. Confusion arises, however, from the fact that he uses the word with varied connotation. Primarily, the great philosopher considers all art imitative. The perfect archetype exists in the mind of God. The craftsman reproduces this actuality in less ideal form. The artist is third in descent from the original, and creates not an object, but the image of an object; therefore he is an imitator, and is thrice removed from the truth.[3] As an art, poetry is imitation. But Plato makes a further division of poetry into narration and imitation, designating the latter as pure mimetic art, and condemning it on ethic grounds.[4] Again, he says: "All

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[1] Ibid, ll.457-70. [2] Ibid., ll.471-2. [3] Rep., Bk.X.pp.597 sq.

[4] Rep., Bk.III. Bk.X,pp.591,597,600. This definition survived only as a critical reminiscence; it never came to have effective signifi-

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creation, or passage of non-being into being is poetry or making, and the processes of all art are creative; and the masters of arts are all poets or makers."[1] We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the composition of poetry is both creative and imitative. Further, Plato states that all imitation is of two kinds: the one is created and passes into nothingness, as a song or a dance; the other remains, as a picture or a poem; and thus becomes a permanent part of creation.

In the above passage exist two latent theories. The first is that the poet as a creator in some degree approaches God, and hence is divine; the second is that the poem as creation forms a part of the universe, and is a common inheritance to all men. These theories are the basis for the double conception of imitation developed in the poetics of the Renaissance. For there, true Platonic imitation which sought to reproduce nature through art, exists beside the Horatian precept of copying the ancients.

The entire responsibility for the less ideal conception of imitation must not be laid upon Horace. The surpassing excellence of Homer, the universal appeal of his genius, inspired imitation through many centuries of Greek and Alexandrian literature. The brilliant Attic drama was an inspiration to succeeding ages. The vast body of mythology offered a mine of sources not easily exhausted, and the use of familiar stories tended to perpetuate itself into a law of literature. This custom naturally fostered an imitative borrowing.

Aristotle reduced the Platonic theory to definite expression if not law. He defines tragedy, comedy, epic, and dithyrambic poetry, music of the flute and lyre, as all "in their general conception modes of imitation."[2] Artistic imitation differs in medium, object, and manner.[3] He recognizes that there is no common term which is

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1 Symposium, p. 575 2 Poetics, I, 2. 3 Ibid. III, 2.

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equally applicable to the mimes of Sophron, the Socratic dialogues, and also to imitations in iambic, elegiac, or any similar metre, but he states it is imitation rather than verse which makes the poet.[1] Therefore the work of both Homer and Aristophanes is imitation; the difference lies in manner, the one being narration, the other presentation.[2] In this way Aristotle avoids the difficulty into which Plato fell when he used the term imitation to designate two distinct processes.

Aristotle attributes the origin of poetry to two faculties deeply implanted in human nature. The first is the "instinct of imitation," for man is the most imitative of living creatures. This embraces, according to his theory, a natural pleasure in all objects imitated, which he ascribes to the faculties of learning and recognition. The second is the instinct for harmony and rhythm which through the development of special aptitudes gave birth to poetry.[3] Thus the creation of poetry is to Aristotle primarily a process of imitation,[4] or a presentation through the medium of language of life and action, of men and objects.

On the second phase of imitation, which involves reproduction of existing literature, the great critic is silent. By implication, however, he supports the practice. His whole theory of poetry is a reduction to law of the practice of Homer and the Greek dramatists, and a unification of the teachings of Plato. His citation of Homer as the originator of the three great literary genres, epic, tragedy and comedy, posits him as a model. His very warning that the poet should not "at all costs[5] keep to the received legends which are the usual subjects of Tragedy"[6] implies a large degree of expected

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[1] Ibid.,I,7. [2] Ibid.,III,2. [3] Ibid.,IV,2-6.
[4] Ibid.,IV,2,9,10. XXIII,3. [5] Italics mine.
[6] Poetics IX,8; cf XIII,5.

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reproduction. Again, when he observes, "as for the story, whether the poet takes it ready made or constructs it for himself,----" he clearly points to the same situation.

It is necessary here to turn once more from the critic to the literary situation.

The whole structure of Latin literature was founded upon imitation of the Greek. This fact was fully recognized by the Renaissance whose critics made of it a corner stone for their own theory of imitation as a means of developing a national literature. For models they turned first to the Latin, then to the Greek, justifying their method by the example of Rome.[1] It is Horace who first commands:[2]

"---------- Vos exemplaria Graeca
Nocturna versate manu versate diurna."

Ars Poetica, ll. 268-9.

And Vida follows him literally in bidding the poet search the famous ancients night and day.[3] But so simple a precept seems insufficient to Vida. Imitation is to him the one process of poetic creation, and through this theory he instituted the Vergilolatry of the Renaissance. His reiterative teaching is probably the best key to the universal practice in the age of unrestricted, unacknowledged, and--to a later literary conscience--unscrupulous borrowing.

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[1] Vida: De Arte Poetica, Bk. I, ll. 149-207; Muzio: Dell'Arte Poetica, p. 69; Du Bellay: Deff. et Ill., C. 9, p. 139; Vauquelin: L'Art P--., Bk. II, ll. 975 sq.

[2] He also states: "Knowledge is the foundation and the spring of writing well. This knowledge the Socratic pages will reveal, and matter once provided words will freely follow." (A--. P--. ll. 310-11.) Upon the Greeks, he says, the muses have bestowed both genius and eloquence (Ibid., ll. 323-4); Dante: De Vulgario Eloquio, Bk. II, C. iv: "--the more clearly we imitate the great poets so much the better we write poetry, whence it behooves us by devoting some labor to the matter, to emulate their teaching;" Boccaccio defines the poet as an imitator but directs him to nature for his models. (Gen. Deo. Bk. 14, C. 17.)

[3] Op. Cit., 62-66, ll. 71-74.

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By constant study, he says, the poet must lay up rich stores for future use. Above all, he must venerate Vergil and follow in his footsteps. Should the Latin epicist, through any chance, fail to suffice all his needs, then let him turn to the study of other great poets of the age.[1]

He should let no day or night pass that he does not drink from the noble fountains of the sacred poets, and press the sweet cup to his lips.[2] When he writes let him be mindful of the speech he has drawn from the ancient poets.[3] Let him especially search the Argive treasures and bring them home; for scarcely less is the honor to change the rich inventions of Greece to the native tongue than to seek a new invention.[4]

The spirit of Vida's work has been excellently translated by Pitt in the following lines:

"Hence on the ancients we must rest alone,
And make their golden sentences our own;
To cull their best expression claims our cares
To form our notions and our styles on theirs.
See how we bear away their precious spoils,
And with the glorious dress enrich our styles,
Their bright inventions for our use convey,
Bring all the spirit of their words away,
And make their words themselves our lawful prey,
Unshamed in other colors to be shown,
We speak our thoughts in accents not our own.

Steal with due care and meditate the prey,
Invert the order of the words with art,
And change their former site in every part."

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[1] Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 208-11.
[2] Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 409-411.
[3] Ibid., Bk. I, l. 123.
[4] Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 542-548.

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Thus win your readers, thus deceive with grace,
And let the expression wear a different face."

Bk.III,ll.210-220.
[Orig.]

Although Vida has interlarded his whole work with variant repetition of this same theory, yet he seems to have an uneasy feeling that perhaps he has not been sufficiently clear or emphatic; he therefore recurs yet again to the subject with urgent appeal. He bids the youths arise and gird themselves for spoils. Be not like those, he says, who in bold self-confidence reject art, scorn foreign aid, and refuse to follow in the footsteps of the ancients. Such hope in vain for the smiles of Phoebus and for lasting fame, but even while they live see the passing of their name.[1]

Vida's repeated use of the word theft (furta) is definite evidence that he was fully conscious of the true nature of his teaching. But such teaching is not to be condemned too hastily. It had its roots in a profound reverence for classic culture, and a deprecating consciousness of the lack of art in popular literature. All hope for a new and great national literature lay in the study of the ancients, and in the analogous founding of the Latin literature upon the Greek. Vida's precepts had behind them the authority of Aristotle, Vergil, Horace, Cicero, Quintillian,[2] and others. He was followed by the Renaissance.

Muzio knows no road to successful poetic creation more brief and certain than to follow the example of other writers.[3] He says: "you whose hearts are pierced by the noble desire to create rare works of noble counsel, of diverse nature and varied emotions, turn

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[1] Ibid., Bk.III,ll.243-254.

[2] De Institutis, Book X, C.2; This treatise deserves more than a passing mention. Imitation is urged, and practical suggestions are made for the study and use of illustrious writers.

[3] Ibid., Bk.III, p.98

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your eyes with intent mind to the noble examples of genius and art of earlier ages. The writers of Athens and those of Rome will give you matter and form. From them issue the beginning and rules of all created things, which with celestial wheels pass from circle to circle. From them we may learn all things, what to follow, what to avoid, how to speak, with what words and figures."[1] But in his theory of imitation, as in all else, his love of freedom asserts itself. There is no need, he says, to repeat words. Learn all the laws of the ancients, but remember not all these need to be kept; for some may be laid aside that the greater law of the spirit may be observed.

Scaliger, Trissino, and Minturno, the great lawgivers of the Renaissance, develop imitation as an independent feature of art.

Scaliger discusses the theme first from a practical standpoint. He states that after treating all parts of poetry, it yet remains "vt ex his praeceptis Poetam perficiamus." This creation may be ~~effected~~ through imitation and judgment. The latter is necessary to select the poet and subject for imitation. But imitation in itself is not an absolute essential because at first there was no one to imitate. Nevertheless, imitation has been sought by the very great part of men, who through the evils of the time are strangers in their native language.[2] Even those who have ridiculed universal imitation, among them Horace, are powerless without its aid; for he himself, although he calls imitators a servile flock, walks in the footsteps of Lucilius.[3] Vergil has followed Homer, Apollonius,[4] and Theocritus.[5] Therefore Scaliger counsels that the poet choose a master, whose method, by meditating, admiring and transcribing, he may make his own, just as Chrysippus formerly

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[1] Ibid., pp. 68-9. [2] Poetices, Lib. V, p. 214. [3] Ibid., Lib. V, C. 1.
[4] Ibid., Lib. V, C. 6, p. 251. [5] Ibid., Lib. V, C. 3, p. 247.

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dared to say that he had made the Medea of Euripides his own. When the writer is possessed of lofty spirit and noble expression, it is quite possible for him to give to borrowed matter his individual stamp.[1]

For Scaliger, there is but one possible choice of a master, Vergil. There are many works of art, he says, but all these you will find, as another nature, in Maro.[2] This statement is followed by a series of illustrations and citations from the Aeneid. Subject, character, and situation are reduced to thumb rule.[3] The exposition extends to minute details for individual combat; there must be variety in weapons, in situations, in wounds.[4] When one pauses to consider the servility with which this last one of the dreariest and worst features of the Iliad and of the Aeneid, in which the combatants are wounded in every part of the anatomy, is preserved and posited as a law of composition, by one of the most authoritative critics of the whole Renaissance, wonder must cease that Spenser has filled his pages with a wearisome succession of combats which can only be characterized as of uniform variety. Scaliger cites examples to show the superiority of Vergil to Homer,[5] and the poet is warned to flee Homeric license and loose style.[6]

No ¶ He says that for us Vergil presents the highest choice of virtue in a poet. Beside him other poets speak a language other than poetic. But the novice is not to be discouraged, for it behooves him ever to

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[1] Ibid., Lib. III, C. 28, p. 119.

[2] Ibid., Lib. III, C. 4, p. 86.

[3] Cf. Lib. III, C. 28, p. 119 sq.

[4] Ronsard (Pref. Franciade) observes the same detail, and counsels that, in description of battle, some soldiers be wounded in a mortal part of the body, "comme le cerveau, la coeur, la gorge, les aisnes, le diaphragm", and others in parts less mortal.

[5] Poetices, Lib. III, C. 3, pp. 216-244.

[6] Ibid., Lib. V, C. 3, p. 245.

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strive for more than he can accomplish.[1]

Scaliger claims to have considered the nature of all those things which can be or happen in the human life, "quarum exempla ex diuino illo viro (Virgil) peteremus." "Now," he says,"that we have determined upon the perfect poet, we must attempt to know all these matters with greater exactness.----------For in every matter there is one first and right way, and to this norm and reason all other things should be directed. ------- Mind, words and deeds are to be considered in proper proportions." When Vergil decided to create a perfect man, the perfection of man as a prince and citizen was summed up in Aeneas.[2] All of these principles, says Scaliger, have now been illustrated with much labor, and other instances could be added. "Verum," he concludes as he began; "satis haec putauimus esse ad imitantium vtilitatem,cuius exemplum, regula principium finis esse debet nobis Maro."[3]

The above sums up as literally as is consistent with brevity Scaliger's treatment of the practical phase of imitation. His discussion extends over chapters and books of his own work. He makes of imitation a prime poetical necessity. Words, phrases, figures, situation, characters and plot are not only to be borrowed at will, but the practice is urged as the only road to sure success. Clearly, for him this practical application of the theory is the chief point of consideration.

In the seventh book of the Poetices he refers briefly to the ideal imitation of Plato and Aristotle. All things, he says, are due to either nature or art. Some are mixed, in which art adds something to nature. The greater part of all art is imitation, and all imitation is established for a certain end. He declares: "Nulla igitur imitatio propter se," and illustrates his meaning. Statues are erected

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[1] Ibid.,Lib.V,C.3,p.245: "-- ut etiam expetas plus quàm possis."

[2] Ibid.,Lib.III,C.12,pp.90-91.

[3] Ibid.,Lib.V,C.3,p.245.

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to perpetuate the memories of men who have performed noble deeds, that by these exemples the men of a later generation may be aroused to like action. A sword is manufactured for the protection of man. Thus neither statues nor sword exist by reason of themselves, but for the sake of mankind. So also speech, which is nothing other than imitation, and eloquence, which is the instrument of art, do not constitute an end in themselves, as Aristotle posits, but exist for the profitable instruction of man.

Here Scaliger falls into an of the error common in the Renaissance, and misapprehends the true meaning of the great Stagyrite. Aristotle has not made imitation the end, but the method of poetry, of which invention is the distinctive feature. Imitation becomes an end in itself only through aesthetic intention. Scaliger proceeds with his argument: The belief that imitation is the end of poetry leads to absurd errors; both philosophy and history would be poetry; in the case of history this could scarcely be true because it is well known that its end is helpful doctrine through which the minds of men are led to right action; in the case of philosophic discussion, man is led through right action to the perfect state of Happiness; further, Plato would be a poet in his own Laws by which he excludes poets. He presses the argument with further confusion of terms. Conceiving imitation as a wholly objective process, incapable of subjective expression, he declares that if poetry consists only in imitation, the Iliad will be a poem in so far as feigned persons are concerned (ex personis fictis), but not so as regards Homer (ex Homeri persona). Hence, the lyric, the elegy and the paean are not poetry because they speak in the first person, and he concludes: "id est enarratio aut explicatio affectuum, qui ex ipso profiscuntur ingenio canentis, non ex persona picta."

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In his utter failure to comprehend the purely abstract nature of ideal imitation, that may be an end in itself, Scaliger deals a heavy blow to the aesthetic quality of Aristotle's teaching. In his perversion of the term to represent only the objective, and the resultant absurdities, he obscures the way to a clearer understanding by later critics. In the minuteness with which he has fixed the matter and method of imitation, he has given to the theory, in its most mechanical and insidious form, the sanction of authority. His whole purpose is the rationalization of art, and the subordination of imagination. His view was largely accepted by the Renaissance.

The extensive discussions of imitation by Trissino[1] and by Minturno[2] paraphrase and elaborate the theories of Aristotle, but develop nothing materially original. Both of these writers accept imitation as the natural process of poetic production, and discuss the origin, nature and strength of the instinct. The subject to be imitated is a matter of particular interest to each. Trissino cites Dante's division of the mind, copied from Aristotle, into the vegetative, sensitive, and rational spirit, and the resultant qualities of use, delight and honor. These are materialized into safety, love, and virtue, and become the proper subjects of poetic imitation, as feats of arms, the service of Venus, and as <u>governed will</u>. Trissino declares such a ruling limits too much the subjects of imitation, which in his category embrace all virtuous or vicious habits.

Minturno regards all nature as a proper subject for imitation, and insists only upon the knowledge of the poet as necessary to a clear concept of what is to be imitated. To neither of these critics does

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[1] <u>Della Poetica</u>, Div.I,p.2; Div.V,p.2 sq; Div.VI,p.118.

[2] <u>De Poeta</u>, Bk.I,pp.22-24; <u>L'Arte Poetica</u>, Bk.I,pp.2-6.

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imitation assume the form of slavish copying advocated by Scaliger. Each, it is true, urges the study of the classic and cites their example, but without the rigidity of the sine qua non. Trissino is the champion of classic form and unity, both in his criticism, and in his model epic and tragedy; but this advocacy is based upon sound Aristotelian doctrine, and upon the intrinsic excellence of the genre, rather than solely upon authority of example. Both Trissino and Minturno recognize the power of imitation to enhance the subject of presentation for a moral purpose, but neither assimilates Aristotle's conception of imitation as an aesthetic process.[1]

Castelvetro covers the ground of imitation with care. He distinguishes between the instinct and the art of imitation. It is the latter only which is concerned with poetry, and to this he accords unexpected liberty, saying: "The imitation (rassomiglianza) demanded in poetry, not only does not follow the exact example proposed, or does not recreate without knowing why, the same thing which has already been made, but it creates something entirely apart from all that has been made up to that day, and in so doing proposes to others an example to be followed."[2] With the teaching of Castelvetro comes a distinct step forward in the direction of liberty and towards the union of imitation with invention. Nowhere does he advocate a servile copying of the ancients. Contradictory as is much of the critical theory of Castelvetro, in this phase of imitation at least he saw the true

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[1] Minturno: L'Arte P--., Bk. I, p. 80. Here M. seems to have some grasp of aesthetic excellence. He advocates the imitation of the ancients; but in comparing La Teseide of Boccaccio and Orlando with the popular Aspromonte, La Spagna, Altobello, and even Il Morgante, he acknowledges that the former, although much removed from classic models, carry excellence through the genius of their authors. Cf. Daniello: Poetica, p. 41 sq; Fracastoro, I, 380.

[2] P. d'A., p. 68. It is only just to Scaliger to quote here his expression of the same idea: "Caetera per se quisque aut ex illo petat ad imitationem, aut noua inuenisat, quae alii queant imitari." (Poetices, Lib. III, C. 97, p. 147.

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light. His view is at one with the practice of the Italian authors, and as such may be regarded as the culmination of the theory. Later Italian critics discuss imitation, and advocate its practical utility, but as a primary principle of literary creation its interest lapses.

To the French school, imitation presents none of the complications of an abstract theory. It was taken over from the Italians in its rationalized phase, and is a practical literary device, a simple process of following, copying and borrowing. It is in this phase that imitation is most pertinent to our discussion, and the attempt here will be to show briefly the universal acceptance of the theory.

Sebillet touches lightly upon the subject.[1] Du Bellay praises the "sententieuse brevité" of Plato, and the "diuine copie" of Aristotle.[2] He makes it a prime qualification of the ideal poet that he be versed in all classes of Greek and Latin authors.[3] Before he undertakes any high or excellent work, he should diligently study the authorities, Horace, Aristotle, and Vida.[4] There can be no better method of learning to write than in learning the way to enrich and illustrate matter, and this method is acquired through the imitation of the Greeks and Romans. The better to learn how this imitation should be accomplished, he directs the poet to the study of Italian and Spanish authors, and finally bids imitate those you wish to imitate, those you can, and those you ought.[5]

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[1] L'Art Poetique Francoys (1548), C.4, pp.29-31; C.14, pp.166,190.

[2] La Defense et Illustration, pp.87-101.

[3] Ibid., C.5, p.119; cf. C.V, C.VII, C.VIII, pp.72,120.

[4] Ibid., C.ix, p.170.

[5] Ibid., pp.108,109,111.

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Ronsard, in the Preface to the Franciade, points out Vergil as a model, but in l'Abrégé,[1] where he enumerates various devices for enriching epic style, he writes: "te faconnant en cicy a l'imitation d' Homere, que tu observeras comme un divin exemple, sur lequel tu tireras au vif les plus parfaits lineamens de ton tableau." Clearly Homer is to be followed rather than nature. He urges imitation everywhere. For choice of subject, diction, epithet and incident, the poet is referred to the ancients. The road to excellence lies only through long labor, "et la lecture des bons vieux poetes grec et latins." He even counsels that they be learned by heart. He also advises the young writer not to neglect the poets of his own age, but to commune with them seriously; regarding the elder as fathers, the equal as brothers, the younger as children.[2] But as the Italia Liberata of Trissino outweighs his preceptive teaching, so Ronsard's Franciade is his strongest testimony in favor of classic imitation.

De Laudun writes plainly: "-- l'on pourra imiter les poetes Grecs, Latins, et Francois, tant anciens que modernes; Homere, pour la comparaison, Virgile pour la belle invention, Horace pour la facondité des sentences et paroles choisies, car ce sont eux desquels nous tirons tout le plus beau que nous avons en nostre langue Francoise."[3]

Vauquelin, in his accustomed sweeping style, gathers the history, practice, and precept of imitation in one. The romance is, he says, the proper subject for an epic. This genre was born in France; Italy and Spain took lessons. And as a horse is stolen, clipped, ears, mane and tail, then resold, so the romance has come back to France.[4] In rules for the creation of an epic, he counsels: Every feature, phrase and ornament which graces another language transplant to your own, and so join it that one would say that some peculiar characteris-

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[1] Ibid., p.324. [2] L'Abrégé, pp.319, 324-5; Pref. Fr., p.21.

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tic of the Latin and Greek is native French. Vergil thus pillaged the riches of Homer, and naturalized Greek wisdom in Italy. Ariosto afterwards pillaged both, and more boldly dared to take the bold adventures of our old Paladins, known throughout the world, the feats of the noble knights of our Round-Table, the strong enchantments of the prophet Merlin, and the stories of Turpin the Archbishop. Then, following true history, he tells how Charlemagne, at Roncevalles, appalled all Spain by slaughter -----."[1]

In quoting Boileau's translation of the famed Περὶ Ὕψους, as a conclusion of this summary, we attain a reach which extends from about the third to the seventeenth century. Thus the "Traité du Sublime" has the authority acquired by fourteen centuries of scholarly approval, and is reproduced by Boileau, the critical autocrat of his age, as the epitome of literary style. Longinus,[2] and with him Boileau, asks: "What is the road to the sublime?" He replies: "--- c'est l'imitation & l'émulation des Poêtes & des Ecrivains illustres qui ont vecu devant nous. Car c'est le bout que nous devons toujours nous mettre devant les yeux." For surely it is clear that inspiration lifts some writers above themselves, just as the priestess of Apollo is carried away by a holy fury. For it is said, from an opening in the earth comes a heavenly breath or vapor, which fills the whole field with a divine virtue, and under its influence she utters oracles. So the great beauties that we mark in the works of the ancients are as sacred openings whence arise happy vapors, which fill the souls of imitators and animate their spirits, naturally less glowing; so that for the moment they are ravished and uplifted by the enthusiasm of others. Thus Herodotus, and before him Stesichorus and Archilochus have drawn from

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[1] Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 975 sq.

[2] There is no need to enter here upon the validity of Longinus' authorship of this treatise. As his it has been read and quoted through the centuries.

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Homer. But Plato is the one who has imitated him most. For he has drawn from Homer as from a living source, and has turned from him an infinite number of streams. "For the rest, we should not regard this as a theft (larcin), but as a beautiful idea that he has followed, and which is formed on the manners, the invention, and the works of others." In fact, Plato could not have been so great, nor so mingled the matters of philosophy and poetry, if he had not come as an athlete to dispute the prize with Homer. Hence, we too should measure our writings by comparison, and by the judgment of the ancient writers. And when we work on something which requires the sublime, we should consider how Homer would have said it: "Car ces grands hommes que nous nous proposons à imiter, se presentant de la sorte à nostre imagination, nous servent comme de flambeau, & souvent nous elévent l'ame presque aussi haut que l'idée que nous avons concuë de leur genie."[1]

It would seem that the universal acceptance and practice of imitation as a legitimate theory of criticism has been established to a degree which should both explain and justify Spenser's method in the Faerie Queene. But there is still another field which must not be neglected,--English criticism.

There is a homely proverb, "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." So in England, the principle of imitation is established by Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate before the enunciation of a critical theory. The "olde bokes" of Chaucer are familiar to us all, and his use of sources is certainly notable example and authority for Spenser.

It is to one of her adopted scholars that we owe the earliest formulation of a theory of imitation which can be connected with the scholarship of England. In 1531, shortly after his expulsion from

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[1] Boileau: Traite du Sublime, pp.54,55,57.

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England, Vives brought out his De Disciplinis. This includes a chapter on imitation,[1] well worthy of study at the present day. There is small doubt that this, as well as other of Vives' works, was known in England, and familiar to Ascham. The treatise bears a marked resemblance to Quintilian's views on the same subject, but is characterized by Vives' incisive clearness of thought and expression. Imitation is an application of the rules of art in the production of a certain thing, in accordance with a proposed model. "Imitation is not to be a mere copying of words and material. This is not imitation but pilfering;----." Vives adds with caustic emphasis, "in this error many are well versed." True imitation is a consideration of the art and method by which an author has achieved his results, and an application of this method to the writer's own material.

Such a process demands quick and keen judgment, as well as dexterity of execution; and results in more or less original work. In this view, Vives approaches the relation between imitation and invention, to be discussed later. It should be noted here that Vives is far in advance of the English criticism of his day.

Criticism as a distinct genre was inaugurated in England by Thomas Wilson. His Arte of Rhetorique (1553)[2] includes a brief paragraph on imitation; "now before we vse either to write or speake eloquently, wee must dedicate our myndes wholy to followe the moſt wiſe and learned men, and ſeeke to faſhion as wel their ſpeache and geſturing as their witte or endyting. The which when we earneſtly mynd to doe, we can not but in time appere ſomwhat like them,"---for "it can not be but that they which wittingly and willingly traunayle to counterfeit other, must

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[1] Bk.IV,C.4.

[2] Cole's Arte or Craſte of Rhetoryke (1524) is a bare manual.

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needes take some colour of them, and be like vnto them in some one thing or other,----."[1]

Ascham accredits Sir John Cheke with a Treatise on Imitation[2] which has not come down to us. With Ascham himself we enter upon a phase of formal but genuine criticism. It is a notable fact that his treatise of the Imitatio embraces one fourth of his whole book, the Schoolmaster. He himself assigns the writings of Cheke and Sturm[3] as his chief sources. His work, however, shows traces of Italian influence, an indirect knowledge of Aristotle, and possible acquaintance with Vives, although this may be due to a common use of Quintilian. His treatise is a scholarly piece of work. His citation of authors who had written on the subject, of collections of parallel readings, of instances and methods of imitation, constitute an authoritative pronouncement, which could not and did not pass unrecognized. His promise of a future book, De Imitatione, is further evidence of the importance he attaches to the subject. But, as has been stated, Ascham's view was that of the schoolmaster. Imitation was an educational method and a literary exercise. He was clear as to the manner and

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1 Wilson: p.5.

2 Scholemaster, p.138; John Strype: [Life of Sir John Cheke, p.200.] Here it is stated that Cheke wrote a treatise on Imitation, which was used by Ascham. This is not included in the list of Cheke's works. Dict. Nat. Biog.]

3 Of Sturm he writes: "but Joan. Sturmius de Nobilitate literata et de Amissa dicendi ratione [is] far best of all in mine opinion, that ever took this matter in hand." (Schoolmaster, p.143.) This work is not accessible to me. Symmes (La Critique Dramatique, p.25) notes it as rare. [A ritch Storehouse or Treasurie for Nobilitye and Gentlemen, which in Latin is called Nobilitas Literata, written by a famous and excellent man Iohn Sturmius, and translated into English by T.B. Gent. 1570. 8°.] A few quotations from the work (Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie, V.37, pp.29-30) show conviction but no originality: "oportet imitatorem esse ξηλοκλεπτον, oportet κλεπτειν, furari, furem esse ξηλου i.e. imitationis, sed ita tamen ut epsum furtum non appareat, ne ipsa scilicet cornicula in furto deprehendatur et risum moveat et suis notetur coloribus"--but "imitatio, vera imitandi ratio quae libertatis suae utitur iure et eloquentiae omnibus nititur privilegis." For his pupils

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extent of the process, but he was not concerned with pregnant results ,-that is,with the creation of a national literature. Hence, in the selection of material, and in the molding of a great epic, Ascham's teaching is not suggestive. But the stylistic influence of his theory of imitation, and his confirmation of it as an approved literary procedure, is of enormous weight. It is a point of interest that this treatise is twice quoted in the critical letters exchanged between Spenser and Harvey.

There is no need to gather up from the body of English criticism detached statements endorsing the validity of imitation. Such a process would be wearying and useless. There is nothing new to add. In his presentation of the subject, Sidney[1] supplies the broader elements lacking in Ascham's treatment,-that is, he recurs to the origin of the theory, and discusses the spirit and function of poetry as an imitation of life. With these two, the theory may be declared rounded and complete. Nor is there need to pass to the formulations of the later great classicist, Ben Jonson. His dicta came too late to influence our poet. They but confirm the thorough acceptance in the scholarly world of imitation as a fixed literary canon.

There is an almost invisible dividing line between imitation and invention. Aristotle perceived this when he wrote: "He (the author) may not indeed destroy the framework of the received legends--the fact, for instance, that Clytemnestra was slain by Orestes and Eriphyle by Alcmaeon---but he ought to show invention of his own and skilfully handle the traditional material." Ascham sought to impress the same idea in teaching that old material must be handled in a new way, or new material treated in the old fashion. The connotation of the term invention, as it appears in criticism, is varied. It is applicable

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[1] Defense, pp.7,8,9; pp 21,22; p.46.

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first, to the fabula, favola, plot, or story, by whatever name it is called. A writer may have used a borrowed invention. That is, the general theme and structure of his story may have been taken from an earlier writer; or else he may, as Castelvetro suggests, create something that had never existed until that day, and which may in turn become the subject of imitation. The term may be made a distinction between truth and fiction, and is so used by Scaliger[1] and Grissino.[2]

In another sense, invention may be diction, figures, style, a method of presenting, enriching and ornamenting material. The common significance, however, lies between the first and last. It represents the individuality of the writer, in selecting, arranging, altering and enlarging his material.[3] It signifies originality, through whatever medium that quality may find expression. Thus, when a critic of the Renaissance praises "excellence of invention", he lauds not necessarily new material, but some originality of treatment whether in matter, form, or style. Meres writes:[4] "As Theocritus is famoused for his Idyllia in Greeke and Virgill for his Eclogs in Latin: so Spenser their imitator in his Shepheardes Calender is renowned for the like argument, and honoured for fine Poeticall inuention and most exquisit wit."

A consideration of invention also involves some regard to the rival claims of nature and of art, or of inspiration as opposed to learning. Boccaccio[5] writes: Poetry is the fervor of exquisiteness of invention, and of speaking or of writing what you have invented. It proceeds from the bosom of the Gods. The creations of this fervor

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1 Poetices: Lib. I, C. 13, p. 20.

2 Della Poetica, Div. 6, pp. 116-7.

3 B. Segni: P--. d'A--., p. 300.

4 Palladis Tamia: A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets, p. 3.

5 Gen. Deo., Bk. XIV, C. 8.

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are divine:"ut puta mentem in desyderium dicendi compellere: peregrinas & inauditas inuentiones excogitare: meditatas ordine certo componere:--." Bernardo Segni[1] on the contrary declares distinctly that art is bound up with invention, and says: "Art first considers what it wishes to accomplish, then invents and arranges." Vauquelin also places a high value on art:

> "Sur tout bien inuenter, bien disposer, bien dire,
> Fait l'ouvrage des vers comme vn Soleil reluire,
> Comme sur tous louable est l'édifice ou l'art
> Fait priser le matiere auquel d'vn autrepart
> La matiere fait l'art estimer dauantage."
>
> L'Art Poetique Francais, l. 307.

A fine adjustment of these claims is not sought here, but it is evident that in contemporary criticism both art and inspiration were regarded as processes of which invention was a logical outcome.

The varied connotations of the term invention make direct quotation a delicate task. It is, however, necessary to thread the way toward some general conclusion. Two definite statements have been already made, and must be supported: The first, that in Renaissance criticism the dividing line between imitation and invention is shadowy; the second, that the general conception of invention involved handling of material and style, rather than original creation.

Classic treatises[2] on invention were well known and popular in the Renaissance. It is probably due to this authoritative teaching that the theory of invention held its place as a critical necessity, and did not succumb entirely to the universal doctrine of imitation to which it is at times made an adjunct.

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[1] L'Ethica d'Aristotile, p. 291.

[2] Aristotle: Rhetoric, Bks. I, II; Cicero: De Inventione; De Oratore, Bk. II, Partitiones Oratiores, Ch. II and III; Horace: Ars Poetica.

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In the Italian school, the theories of variety and invention went hand in hand, and as we have seen that variety was bound up with imitation, the circle is complete. Tasso deals with the varied phases of invention in his Apologia del Poema. He defends the copiousness and richness of his father's inventions in the Amadigi, where the reference is to variety of matter. In a comparison of the love affair of Ruggiero and Bradamante with that of Alidoro and Mirinda, he states the latter "fu tutta invenzione di mio padre." Here the inference is of originality in handling and character rather than in incident.[1] He also touches upon the more abstract conception of invention as mere fiction, and rejects the view. He finally reaches the conclusion that invention is not only a necessary quality of the poet, but is the very foundation of everything else, and writes: "l'invenzione è una delle parti principali che du aver'il poeta; ma perchè l'imitazione anco è parte essenzialissima della poesia,--L'imitazione e l'invenzione sono una cosa stessa, quanto a la favola."[2] In this instance, imitation is used in the abstract sense, of a presentation of life and character, and carries no sense of borrowing. However, the discussion as a whole, however, is an apt illustration of the freedom in the conception of the term, and the interrelation of the three principles, variety, imitation, and invention.

It is natural that the French critics as eminent classicists and stylists eagerly working to create a national literature, should centre their attention upon invention, and that they should unite this with the theory of imitation. Fabri, following classic example, devotes a section of his Rethorique to the subject. He declares invention is the chief quality of an author, and urges that he enrich his matter with all resources at his command, drawing not only upon the "inuentions

[1] pp.321,323.

[2] pp.330-332.

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antiques de noz perès, mais de soi l'en doibt adiouster, muer, changer plus plainamment, plus nouvellement et selon le temps mieux conform aux auditeurs."[1] He again states that after the invention, the matter should be enriched with "proverbs, authorities, histories, and persuasions or dissuasions."

Sebillet entitles the third chapter of his Art Poetique Francoys, De L'Invention. "The foundation and principal part of poesy or verse is", he says, "invention." It is the quality most stressed by rhetoricians, and both the poet and orator work by the same rules. There is little profit in the empty sound of words under which there lies no solid invention. It is a paper washed with color, which slightly moistened is lightly erased. He quotes Horace,[2] to the effect that words and measure are not enough, but the poet deserves the honor of the name only through a divine and understanding spirit, meaning by these words "l'invention subtile." The first step of invention is subtilty and wisdom, which if God has denied to the poet, he will labor in vain. Horace, however, demands a pleasing and equal conjunction of the faculties of art and nature.[3] Quintilian requires both, but gives greater stress to nature.[4] Sebillet himself concludes that invention must comprise judgment, and be confirmed and enriched "par la lectures des bons et classiques poetes francois,"--as Alain Chartier and Jean de Meun.[5] Here again the idea of invention is one with the use of older material.

Du Bellay understands invention as a quality of style, by no means limited to a use of new material. He tells us the French tongue

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[1] Rethorique: De Inventione, p.18.

[2] Satires, Lib. I, Sat. IV, V, St. 40 sq. [3] Ars Poetica, ll. 385, 408-11.

[4] Inst., Lib. II, C. 20; Lib. IV, C. 19.

[5] L'Art Poetique Francoys, pp. 21-26.

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is neither so poor that it cannot faithfully render what it borrows from others, nor so barren that it cannot produce of itself some good and fruitful invention. He confesses, however, that the poets are difficult to translate "by reason of this very divinity of invention, which they have more than others, of that grandeur of style, magnificence of words, gravity of sentence, boldness and variety of figures, and a thousand other poetic brilliancies; in short, by that energy, whatever the spirit may be called, which in their own writings the Latins call genius."[1] In this passage, Du Bellay has more nearly put into words the inner significance of the term as employed by the critics of the Renaissance, than has any other.

De Laudun[2] and Ronsard[3] discuss imitation at length, and distinguish between the product of the imagination and of a frenzied fancy. Ronsard permits the poet to draw from both ancient and modern authors for his invention,[4] and states clearly: "le principal poinct est l'invention, laquelle vient tant de la bonne nature que par la leçon des bons et anciens autheurs."

As has been stated previously, the wide scope of invention renders the method of direct quotation hitherto pursued in this study almost impossible, since it would involve either lengthy comments, or ambiguity. It is, however, an indisputable fact that as a critical necessity the theory received profound recognition and wide discussion. The very copiousness of this treatment prevented pithy expression. Throughout the classic treatises and Renaissance discussion of the subject, although the emphasis varied with the individual, it was a matter of common agreement that natural ability and art were indivisible necessities in the composition of poetry. Translated into dynamic

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[1] Def. et Ill., pp.51-67.

[2] L'Art P--., C.II.

[3] L'Abrégé, pp.318-323.

[4] Ibid., p.323.

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terms, nature and art became invention and imitation. The relationship between the two remained as intimate as between the parent terms. Thus, with the universal practice and teaching of imitation, invention assumed the function of presenting matter in a new and attractive form. It is this concensus of critical opinion which most clearly influences Spenser in the creation and disposition of his masses of material.

It was stated at the beginning of this discussion that Spenser's conception of the epic was of a world, and that in his ambition to excel all the epics previously written, he drew his material not only from them, but from all known literary sources. In proof of this statement, his use of literary genres has been discussed, both as regards source and form.

It has been further asserted that in his disposition of material he was guided by the three critical principles of variety, imitation, and invention. The nature and authority of these principles have been discussed to prove that they were powerful and indispensable factors in the literary art of the Renaissance. Since the facts in the case have been established, the conclusions can now be drawn.

The Faerie Queene stands an indisputable work of art. Art is the result of application of rules established through previous experience. Since one of the notable features in this work of art is the weaving together in an endless chain of innumerable stories, episodes, and incidents, this particular feature must be the outcome of some definite principle. The critical principle which in purpose, method and result corresponds to this feature of the Faerie Queene, is variety. It is the theory which urges episode as the life and soul of the poem. It is the quality which draws and holds the mind of the reader. It is the process by which one event is made the natural outcome of another, until no excision can be made which will not disrupt the

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whole. Such is the method prescribed by the critical teaching of variety, and such is the method pursued by Spenser.

For the stories, episodes and incidents, it has been shown that he drew from the stores of romance, epic, history and folk-lore. Few indeed are the stories of which no source has been as yet found. He has borrowed scene, incident, character, passage, figure and thought from other authors. This no poet of reputation would have done without the full sanction of critical authority. It has been shown that imitation was a legitimate method of creation, practiced and taught by all authors and critics as the one great way of creating a national literature. Hence, not only did Spenser have the fullest right to glean where he would, but not to have done so would have drawn upon him the condemnation of his age as cold and bare, and ignorant of the rich stores of literature.

The method of this imitation is our third and last concern. A woven tissue of borrowed threads, the Faerie Queene yet possesses as distinct a personal entity as does any of the other great epics of the world. His material, gathered from a hundred sources, Spenser has shredded and rewoven. The incidents of half a score stories may go to the creation of one; else the hero of one story may be transferred to the milieu of another. The very passages that seem to be borrowed in entirety are paraphrased in so subtle a way that they become Spenser's own. The whole story is his own. Who else has placed together such a marvellous web of allegory, love and adventure? Who else has painted pictures of such thread-like detail? Who else has attained the perfection of imitation which can embody grotesque terror in a living form. Who else can portray a nature so perfected by art? Who else has words of such honeyed sweetness that they cloy the tongue? When these questions are answered, the poet will be named who even bet-

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ter than Spenser has understood that the Renaissance demanded in invention, not a bold and new creation, but the adaptation of the thousand things that make up the art of poesy. And thus we can unhesitatingly reaffirm that in his composition of the Faerie Queene, Spenser was guided and controlled by three of the greatest critical theories of the Renaissance,--variety, imitation, and invention.

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Chapter VII

Technique [Mechanics] : I. Diction: Classic theory.- French.- English.- Spenser's practice.- Copiousness.- Archaisms.- No attempt to reproduce earlier diction.- Intention to enrich language.- Observance of critical principles.- Creation of artistic medium. II. Figures: Interest in rhetorical study.- Classic inheritance.- Italian, French, and English criticism.- Restraint in Spenser.- Pleonasm.- Homeric simile.- III. Versification: Experimental stage of metre.- Revival of classic measures in: Italy.- France.- England.- Outcome of movement.- Spenserian stanza.- Old theory.- New theory.- Inspired by Dante.- Stanzaic form of terza rima.- Madrigal.- Conclusion.

Hitherto this thesis has dealt with the broader and more complex phases of criticism concerned with the inception, nature, and conduct of Spenser's epic. The Renaissance was, however, an age of prescriptive criticism which dealt authoritatively with every feature involved in literary composition. No discussion, therefore, which purports to set forth a work as an exemplar of the current criticism, can be complete without taking into account the mechanical execution of the work. And, indeed, Spenser's thorough knowledge and adept employment of all rhetorical devices is important evidence of his consciously critical attitude in composition.

The minute rules, governing the details of composition, which appear in the voluminous pages of contemporary critics, have their roots in the broader theory of art. Art and nature were alike concerned in the production of poetry.[1] The relative emphasis placed upon these factors varies with individual writers. The delicate balance of these rival claims has no place in the present discussion, nor need the varied connotations of the term art

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[1] Della Casa:(Classici Italiani, V. 72) Lezione, pp. 299-300; Segni, Bernardo: L'Ethica d'Aristotile (1549), pp. 291-93.

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be considered. The theory designated here is the conscious application, in the creation of literature, of principles established by the practice of the best writers and formulated by critics.

Segni has said that art is the ability to execute work according to rule.[1] This was an aspect of art universally respected in the Renaissance. It was the quality which placed Vergil above Homer in general estimation. The elegant artifice of the Latin poet was susceptible of reduction to rule. The "footing of his feet" could be followed. This refinement and elaboration of art was dear to the people of the Renaissance. They loved it as they loved the intricacy of delicate carvings, as they loved the skill which painted the pile of velvet, the sheen of satin, and the thread of lace. Scaliger voices the common view. Homer, he says, is possessed of the greatest genius, but his art seems rather to have happened than to be wrought with care. Wherefore it is neither a matter of wonder that in him a certain natural Idea is not called Art, nor is this opinion to be interpreted as censure. Vergil through the desire of a more pleasing nature and through the exercise of judgment has lifted the rude art received from Homer, to the highest pitch of perfection.[2] Spenser concurs in the

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[1] Ibid, p. 291.

[2] Poetices (1561): Lib. V, c.2.p.214. (Method or art is to be learned through the comparison of Homer and Vergil.)* "Homeri ingenium maximum: ars eiusmodi, vt eam potius inuenisse, quàm excoluisse videatur. Quare neque mirandum est, si in eo naturae Idea quaedam, nom ars extare dicatur. Neque censura haec pro calumnia accipienda. Vergilius verò artem ab eo rudem acceptam lectioris naturae studiis atque iudicio, ad summum fastigium perfectionis." Vanquelin: L'Art Poetique Francois: (1574. Pub. 1605.) Art vs. Nature, p. 3, l. 55 sq.

De mesme entous les arts formez sur la Nature,
Sans art il ne faut point marche à l'aventure:
Autrement Apollon ne guidant point nos pas,
Monter au double mont ne nous souffriroit pas;

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general conception of art when he writes:

"Some dele ybent to song and music's mirth
A good olde shepherde, Wrenock was his name
Made me by arte more cunning in the same."

At the basis of all artistic literary production lies the renaissance reverence for language. The development of the vernacular to the literary perfection of Greek and Latin was a fundamental aim of criticism in Italy, in France and in England. The theory of development was based upon analogy. The various dialects of Greece, typographically separated into small nations, formed familiar ground for scholars. Homer's use of dialect words was a common argument inherited from the Alexandrian pedants. Attic Greek became the standard because great Athens drew to herself men from all Greece, and enriched her language, as she did her people, through her commerce with the world. Rome in turn subdued her

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Les chemins sont tracez, qui veut par autre voye
Regaigner les deuants, bien souuent se fourvoye:
Car nos scauans maieurs nous ont desia tracé
Vn sentier qui de nous ne doit estre laissé.
Pour ce ensuiuant les pas du fils de Nicomache
Du harpeur de Calabre, et tout ce que remache
Vide, et Minturne aprés, i ay cet oeuvre apresté.
. . . . . .
1.69. Mais qui selon cet Art du tout se formera
Hardiment peut oser tout ce qui lui plaira
Escriuant en francois;

p.4. 1.77. Mais tout par art se fait, tout par art se construit,
Par art guide les Naux le Nautonnier instruit,
Et sur tous le Poëte en son dous exercice
Mesle avec la nature vn plaisant artifice;
Tesmoin en est cet Art, qui par les vers conté
A tous les autres arts aisément surmonté.

~~Greatly exalts art~~

ll. 439-40. Mais il faut de cet Art tous las preceptes prendre,
Quand tu voudras parfait vn tel ouvrage rendre:
Par ci par là meslé rien ici tu ne lis,
Qui ne rende les vers d'un tel oeuvre embellis."

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rough tongue, welded her dialects, borrowed from her provinces, and drew from the rich stores of Greece. Modelling her language and literature upon that of her great predecessor and rival, in the eloquence of Cicero and the art of Vergil, Rome surpassed in the estimation of the Renaissance, the majesty of Greece. The inference is clear; what had been done by Rome through art and imitation, could be done again. The strength of a growing nationalism united with literary ambition. The creation of a noble and flexible medium for the expression of national thought became a basic function of criticism.

The road to the attainment of this ambition lay through the practical application of art. Diction was made the subject of specific rule which reduced it to a technical basis. The language of Spenser conforms in a striking degree to the principles thus evolved. But before attempting to show how consciously he has moulded his diction upon the critical teachings of his age, it will be necessary to review the development and character of the theory of diction, and to make a clear statement of principles commonly accepted in the Renaissance. In the review an effort will be made to limit the discussion, as far as possible, to the range of words allowed the poet, and to reserve for another section all phases of the subject which are peculiarly related to style.

The main principles of the theory of diction as developed in the Renaissance and reflected in Spenser may be reduced to three: the necessity of enriching the vernacular; the use of archaisms as a literary device; and the preservation of decorum in all its phases. These received literary formulation from Aristotle. As the first step in his treatment of diction, the Greek critic makes a comprehensive classification of all words as "current, or strange, or

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metaphorical, or ornamental, or newly-coined, or lengthened, or contrasted, or altered."[1] Strange words he defines as those used in another country, and cites an example from the Cyprian dialect.[2] "The clearest style," he says, "is that which uses only current or proper words, at the same time it is mean." In contrast, a lofty style is dependent upon strange words, but a discourse built wholly of such becomes jargon.[3] In heroic poetry all varieties of words are serviceable,[4] but the rare and strange are especially fitted to this most stately and massive of all measures where both thought and diction must be artistic.[5] But nothing, he teaches, contributes more to produce a clearness of diction that is remote from the commonplace, than the lengthening, contraction, and alteration of words.[6] This license of change as well as that of word coinage is the right of the poet.[7] Aristotle emphasizes again and again the value of rare, strange, and beautiful words in giving dignity and distinction to the epic, but summarizes his theory with his accustomed moderation: "by deviating in exceptional cases from the normal idiom, the language will gain distinction, while at the same time the partial conformity with usage will give perspicuity." "In any mode of poetic diction," "he declares, "there must be moderation."[8]

In the matter of decorum, another fetich of the Renaissance, Aristotle is equally clear. He posits four principles in depicting character. First that it be good. Every speech or action which manifests moral purpose is expressive of character; if the purpose is good the character will be good. This statement in itself carries the principle

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1 Poetics, c.XXI. 2 Ibid., See also citations of Cretan (c.XXV,9), and Dorian, and Athenian words (C.III,6).

3 Ibid., XXII. 4 Ibid., XXII,10. 5 Ibid., XXIV,5. 6 Ibid., XXII, 4.

7 Ibid., XXII, 5,6,7,8,9. 8 Ibid., XXII, 4, 6.

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of decorum. The remaining three requisites, propriety, verisimilitude ("true to life") and consistency may be summed in the one word decorum, for the Aristotle illustrates his meaning. ~~In the first,~~ The ascription of valour to a woman violates accepted propriety; "true to life" carries its own significance; consistency is a presentation of the ascribed type of character in speech and action.[1] Through his championship of a free, correct, and artistic diction, through his prescriptions for enlarging vocabulary, his emphasis on rare and strange words, and foreshadowing of decorum, Aristotle has laid a foundation for the three fundamental principles cited at the beginning of this discussion. And he has become the authority of appeal for much of the more detailed criticism developed in later social conditions.

Horace has elaborated the teaching of Aristotle. Diction is a matter of primary importance. To the poet it always has been and always will be lawful to create new words. If these spring direct from the fountains of Greece, so much the better. Cato, Ennius, Plautus, and Caecilius[2] enriched the stores of their native language; shall such a privilege be denied to later poets, and to Horace himself? As the forest leaves change with the passing years, so does language. Many words now lost shall rise again. Use alone declares the law and norm of speech.[3] His dicta of decorum are axiomatic:[4]

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1 Ib. XV,1-5; cf. VI,17,VIII,3,4; XIII,1-3.

2 The free vocabulary of the authors quoted is notable. Cato and Ennius used old, harsh, and dialect words; Plautus drew on the vocabulary of the middle and lower classes for slang and foreign importations. Caecilius (Statius), himself a foreigner, wrote a florid Latin, mixed with foreign phrasings and terms. (V. Cicero, Ad Att. VII, 3 10.)

3 Ars Poetica: ll. 46-72.

4 Ibid. Cf. ll. 92-98.

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" . . . . . servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit et sibi constet"
A-. P-. ll. 126-7.

"Scribendi recte sapere est et principum et fons."
l. 309.

The last line Horace interprets as the knowledge of character and the art of fitting the manners to the man. More specifically yet he characterizes the difference in speech adapted to the hero, the sage man, the gay young spark, the noble matron, the prattling nurse, the wandering merchant, and the shepherd swain.[1] Thus there is to be observed in the later critic a distinct advance toward detail. The principles enunciated by the two great progenitors of Renaissance criticism are but the seed of a later growth.

It is with Dante's El Vulgario Eloquio that we find first expressed that keen anxiety as to the development of the vernacular which became a centre of interest in Italy, and later in France and in England. This interest, as previously stated, was bound up with the development of a national literature and an humble pupillage to Greece and Rome.

Dante's specific purpose was to select as a literary standard one of the fourteen dialects of Italy, which he declared, showed a thousand minor varieties.[2] To this end he examines and characterizes all the dialects with the intermixtures and corruptions. He rejects each as inadequate, but states there must exist a norm or standard through which such a comparison is rendered possible. This he finds in the illustrious, cardinal, courtly, and curial language of Italy, which belongs to all the towns, yet is peculiar to none.[3] In more simple terms Dante fixes upon the

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1.- Ibid. l. 114 sq. 2.- El Vulgario Eloquio, Bk. I, C. X.
3.- Ibid. C. XVI. Trissino (De La Poetica, Div. I, p. 2) recognized that the language of Dante was based primarily on the Tuscan dialect. This is now a matter of philological certainty.

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the language of the courtly class as nearest to his ideal. This is furthest removed from provincialism, is polished by culture and learning, and dignified by function and class usage. A similar choice was made by Puttenham nearly three centuries later in England. Dante must not be understood to exclude the use of dialect, or ancient words from his universal Italian vernacular. In the last chapter of his first book he promises to deal more in detail with dialects. The promise is unfulfilled. In the course of the discussion, however, he posits the excellence of the language[1] and reaches the conventional conclusions, that the language must be fitted to the subject, that illustrious diction pertains only to the thought centred in themes of Safety, Love and Virtue,[2] and that all diction is to be regulated by art.[3]

In comparison with later criticism Dante's treatise lacks the incisiveness of the particular but his work is the very early orientation of the subject which opened the way to more detailed investigation.

Vida's god is Horace, but his prolixity can scarcely fail to show some development. His general prescription for diction, as for all else, is "rob the ancients."[4] Their high sounding phrases and stately words are rich spoils. No religion, he says, forbids the poet to coin new words, but with an echo of Horace, he stipulates that such words shall come by legitimate descent.[5] He advocates borrowing from other languages. In the Latin, he says, native words of Athens and Mycenae have donned a Roman garb;[6] Gallic and Belgic terms have crossed the Alps. Words have come from far Macedon, and

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1.- Ibid., Bk. II, c. V, c. III. 2.- Ibid. c. II. 3.- Ib. c. IV.
4.- De Arte Poetica: Bk. III, l. 170 sq. 5.- Ibid., ll. 267-271.
6.- Ibid., ll. 272-287.

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the barbarian bards have given of their store.[1] He points out the charm of old words, yet warns against too frequent use.[2] He notes the value of compounds.[3] Words of huge bulk, he advises, should be split or pruned,[4] and he illustrates his teaching by the modification of harsh names. He recognizes, nevertheless, the value of harmonious names, and even admits the use of a few words whose sonorousness constitutes their sole claim to consideration.[5] In such details Vida marks the definite advance of criticism toward the particular.

To Scaliger, busied in the dissection of poetic elements, diction presents itself only as a subordinate feature of all component parts. He, therefore, makes no distinctive contribution to the subject, but in general theory follows Aristotle.[6]

Trissino devotes the first division of his De La Poetica to the subject. His master in practice and theory is Dante, and his work marks the third great step in Italian study of diction. He brings the treatment to definite detail. The choice of language reckons with dialects, the practice of good writers, and the parallel conditions in Greece. The choice of words embraces a consideration of source,[7] age,[8] clearness, exaltation, beauty, theme, and genre.

1.- Ibid., ll. 288-293. 2.-Ibid., ll. 294-301. 3.- Ibid., ll. 305 sq.
4.- Familiarity with Latin inflection made this an easy task. The practice was universal both before and during the Renaissance. It met the exigences of metre and softened otherwise inharmonious elements. Contemporary familiarity with the names prevented the obscurity, which the custom has occasionally caused in later times.
5.- De Arte P., ll. 341-345. 6.- Poetics: L. VII, c. 6; L. III, c. 97; L. IV, c. 45, c. 47. 7.-Della Poetica: Div. I, p. 3. Mixture of dialects demands a common language. Words should be in use by living authors and accepted everywhere, (p. 4.) Authors may invent words. Of words not found in authors, but still in use, although it is, and will be lawful to use them, caution is necessary. If common to all languages they may be used safely. "Ma se sono particulari di una lingua, hanno bisogno di sottile considerazione; perciò che, se sono belli, e tali, che si possano intendere facilmente da tutti, si ponno sicuramente usare siano di che lingua si voglia;"..... "e queste specialmente stano bene ad usarsi ne lo Ervico, nel quale la varietà di langue, come dice Aristotele, si ricerca; e massimamente dove interviene il costume; civè quando

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The use of words is tempered by art in enlargement, contraction, mutation, and transposition. The soave and dolce qualities of diction are defined. And under that most difficult of all Italian words to render into English. Costume, Trissino reduces decorum to an inworking system, which reckons in one phase with nationality, station, and individual character, and in another with theme and genre.[1] He discusses in detail the rustic nature of the pastoral, and the consequent character of the diction suited to it. He hints that Theocritus has preserved some degree of decorum in his use of the Doric dialect, "che al parer mio ha del rustico."[2] For Vergil and Sannazaro he half apologizes in their failure to preserve a decorum of language, and of himself he says: "but I have not had the hardihood to make (compose) in rustic language since I have neither knowledge of nor experience in it; nevertheless I truly believe that should some good poet write eclogues in some such rustic dialect, as that used by Ruzante, Strassino, or Batista Soardo, and others, that perhaps he would succeed better." He decides however to leave the matter "to the judgment of those who wish to write eclogues.[3] Such a declaration, on the part of so authoritative a critic as Trissino, would alone be a warrant for Spenser's language in the Shepheards Calendar.

Muzio is one of the early critics who entered upon a belligerent defense of his native tongue. His Battaglie per diffesa dell'

1.- Gen. ref. Della Poetica: Div. 1, pp. 3-5; Ib. Div. 5. Pref. to Sofonisba: (Opere, V.I, p. 300); Translation of Dante de la Volcare Eloquenze. 2.- The Doric is recognized as the most rustic and unpublished of Greek dialects. 3.- De La Poetica. Div. VI, p. 137.

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s'induce a parlare une di un paese, il cui costume è di usare comunemente parole di quello, il che fa spesso Dante et altri singularissime Poeti." 8.- Ib. p. 3. Of ancient words there are two classes: those entirely obsolete, those in use by peasants and mountaineers. (p. 4.) These are not to be used, "se non rarissime volte; e denno porsi in luogo commodo; et ove stia bene l'altezza, et ammirazione, le quali nasceno spesse volte de la novità."

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Italica lingua was preceded many years earlier by the Dell'Arte Poetica, in which his interest in language is manifest. The light, half Horatian touch of Muzio is a relief after the serious solidarity of Scaliger, Trissino, and Minturno. Of language he writes, he who has drawn only from native springs and has not turned the rich soil of Latin fields, babbles as a babe among the flowers. Greece drew her discipline from Egypt and Assyria, Rome in turn from Greece, and now beyond the Tiber sound high sweet notes of wisdom, art, and speech.[1] Literary language is not a birthright to Greeks, to Romans, nor to Tuscans. It is to be learned from books and writers, not from the common herd. But Muzio is himself no rigid censor, who, should he find in learned rhyme some particle which did not rëecho the sighs of Laura's lover, would lay the strap in irate fashion.[2] Boccaccio gleaned the culture of the ancients, and beyond all others is rich in charm, yet he gathered both of oats and tares.[3] It is lawful to borrow from other languages, and to compose new words, but cautiously that the semblance of Italian idiom may not be violated. The abundance of other tongues but serves the vulgar more greatly. Why should a road travelled by Ennius and Cato be forbidden to Molza and Bembo? But he who ventures beyond the current word, whether in search of the transposed, the new, or the antique, let him use judgment. Let him look to it, that the correct yield not too often to the incorrect, and that the new and old be used but seldom, whether it be necessary, or better to express a conceit, or even for ornament alone.[4]

Of the two great critical works of Minturno ~~in preceds~~ the other follows the works

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1.- Dell'Arte Poetica (Venice, 1551), p. 69. 2.- Ib. p. 70.
3.- Ib. p. 70; Bataglie per diffensa etc. (Naples, 1743) p. 3. The reference to Boccaccio's use of the lòglio, tare, is interesting in connection with the Chaucerian problem of Lollius. A similar allusion is to be found in Tasso. Neither reference has any force which would warrant the deduction of a nickname. 4.- Ib. p. 70; pp. 86-89.

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of Trissino and Scaliger, but since much of the matter of the De Poeta (1559) is repeated in the De La Poetica (1564), he is regarded as a later authority. Diction is a matter of paramount importance. Upon it he makes the qualities of perspicuity and propriety, absolutely depend.[1] He defines, quoting Cicero, the Italian soave, a word almost incapable of direct translation, yet representing a quality of diction and style, diligently sought by the Renaissance. Soave (smooth sweetness) consists first, in the elegance and fecundity of slow, resounding words, next, in a conjunction of words which admits no harshness, no break, no rough breathing, no long digression; rather the words must be adapted to the spirit, be like and equal, and so selected from opposites, that numbers may respond to numbers, and like to like.[2] For the rest, although he gives a few details not noted by others, such as the fact that monosyllables give gravity, polysyllables velocity, and that slowness or rapidity of verse is born of more or fewer accents, Minturno reiterates the conventional teachings.[3] He defends the vulgar tongue,[4] the license of poets in diction, the expansion of the language by all the means previously noted,[5] and is peculiarly in favor of the use of archaic words,[6] In the matter of decorum he is most explicit, dealing exhaustively with all phases of the theory.[7]

With Tasso we reach a culmination of the literary theory of diction, and verge upon the endless disputations of the Della Crusca. He declares with Aristotle, that the preëminent quality of eloquence is clearness. In poetic diction there are two points to be considered; the first is clearness combined with suitable

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1. De Poeta: Bk. IV, p. 447. 2.- Ibid. p. 555. 3.-L'Arte P-. Bk. IV, p. 340. 4.- Ibid., Bk. I, p. 30. 5.- Ibid., Bk. IV, p. 321. 6.- Ibid., Bk. IV, pp. 301, 321. 7.- Ibid., Bk. 1, pp. 45-49; Bk. II, pp. 113-129; Bk. IV, pp. 426-427; De Poeta; Bk. I, p. 26.

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elevation; the second, a sublimity which places the poet above the orator, for, as Cicero says, the poet speaks as if in another language.[1] He quotes Dion Chrysostom, that of all arts that of the poet has most license, and of all poets Homer has most grandly exercised this freedom. The father of poetry has chosen not one language, or a language of one character only, but he has included all, and mingled them together: not content to use the words of his own time and of all Greece, he has used the antique, as if trapping himself with old coins drawn from the coffers of some rich lord. Many more he has drawn from the Barbarians, and he has abstained from none which carry within themselves either strength or charm. He has transported the near from the near, the far from the far. Nor does he leave these words in their ordinary form or nature; they are contracted, lengthened, transposed, changed--in short he shows himself not only a maker of verses but of words. He imitates the voices of the rivers, the forests, the winds, the fire, and the sea; beyond this of metal and stone, of beasts, of birds, of feathers, and indeed of every instrument and of every animal. He has named the rivers μορμορντα, the lightning χλαξοντας, the waves βοωντα, and the winds χαλεπαινοντας. Many other like things he has done until his work is a marvel and fills the mind with unrest and awe.[2]

Vergil, Tasso tells us, although he used ancient terms borrowed from Ennius and the other poets, and some terminations and a few other things from the Barbarians, did this with the greatest art and judgment. He mingled forms and characters but disposed them in such a guise, that while in his poem there are as many

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1.- Del Poema Eroico: p. 200.
2.- Ib. p. 259.

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steps as in a theatre, the reader ascends easily by these. He meets no abrupt precipice. There is no intensely displeasing stumbling-block to offend the taste. Yet in expression and in that quality called by the Greeks energia, Vergil is marvellous and the equal of Homer. Moreover he so imitated with sound and number that he placed his creation before the eyes and made his readers both hear and see.[1]

Dante, the third among the masters, is more like to Homer in daring, in license, and in mingling antique and Barbarian words, than to Vergil. Yet he calls himself the disciple and imitator of the latter, and perhaps resembles him in brevity. Castelvetro distinguishes between the two by saying Homer is more vivid and detailed, while Vergil is more universal. To Castelvetro universality is a defeat in art; to Tasso it constitutes a quality of magnificence and dignity incompatible with minute description. The virtue of Homer and the virtue of Vergil, he says, is the virtue of the true poet and of every poet, but the virtue of Vergil exceeds in that it is also peculiar to the heroic poet, whom it becomes to preserve decorum and sustain grandeur above everything else.[2]

Elsewhere Tasso deals with common problems. The use of Latin words is excused and defended.[3] He declares it is not pedantic to use foreign words of noble strain as of the Provençal, French, or Spanish.[4] He explains that Aristotle in conceding the use of strange words to the epic poet alone, intends to convey rather that to him more than to others is the privilege granted.[5] There is, he

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1.- Ib. p. 260. Examples of onomatopeia: Dull thud - procumbit humi bos; calmness: - ruit oceano nox; noise of battle: ".....
perfractaque quadrupedantem
Pectora pectoribus rumpunt. ....."
2.- Ibid. p. 262. 3.- Apologia Del Poema, p. 374. 4.- Ibid. p. 375.
5.- Ibid. p. 274.

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says, a poetic language just as there is a philosophic or historic one, and the poetic language is not the Florentine, not the modern, but the ancient mingled with stray words.[1]

A few echoes from the Anticruscan disputes will emphasize the prevalent keen critical interest in the matter of diction. Paola Beni embarks upon a scientific investigation of language. All authors are to be consulted, but five of the best are to be selected for intensive study. Dictionaries are to be made with examples quoted from the best authors, and Latin and Greek etymologies given.[2] He includes a valuable study of early forms.[3] In discussing the language of Boccaccio he alludes scornfully to the expurgated editions, saying justly, there is no longer any certainty in affirming that certain words were not used by Boccaccio.[4] But he states that many of the old words used by Boccaccio are to be found scattered in other ancient authors and tales: as in the Round Table, in the story of Rinaldo of Montalbano, in Maestro Aldobrandino, in Gio. Villani and others, quoted writers.[5]

Annibal Caro makes a vigorous plea for freedom in diction. He asks earnestly: Is it not lawful for the writers of one language to use the words of another? He claims that not only may foreign words of accepted standing be received, but those that have never been written, the new, the newly made, the Greek, the Barbarian, and even these changed from their first form and significance. Not only words but figures of speech are to be transposed from one language to another. These methods are taught by the Greek and Latin writers,

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1.- Ibid., p. 376. 2.- L'Anticrusca: overo Il Paragone dell'Italiana Lingua; pp. 2-4. 3.- Ibid. p. 7 sq. 4.- Ibid p. 5, He refers with praise to Salviati's edition, reconstructed from ancient texts with singular diligence and restored to a true reading. 5.- Ibid. p. 60.

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and have been put into practice by Italian authors. Aristotle both in his Poetics and Rhetoric admits the use of foreign words. He not only approves, he praises, and commends the custom as adding grace and delight to the composition, and lifting it above ordinary speech. If Aristotle is mistaken here, as he sometimes is, perhaps the names of Cicero, Demetrius, Quintillian, and Horace will carry weight. The Greeks used words from all their dialects. The Latins have used both the Greek and Barbarian languages. The Italians, before Petrarch, after Petrarch, and Petrarch himself have used the Greek, the Latin, and the Barbarian; and from hand to hand, each according to his judgment, has taken what has not been before written by others: "Nam et quae vetera nunc sunt, fuerunt olim nova." Hesiod used words not found in Homer, Pindar those not found in Hesiod, Callimachus those not in Pindarus, Theocritus those not in Callimachus. They were excellent poets all. Empedocles used many foreign words not at first understood among the Greeks. Many words and locutions condemned by Cicero, Quintillian, Servius, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, and many others, by diverse people in diverse times, have been allowed. They have been used by poets and orators; by Cicero himself, by Asinus Pollio, Sergius Flavius, Messala, Augustus, and earlier by Pacuvius, Cecilius, Lucretius, Plautus, Terence, and many others. But in relation to the vulgar tongue, and leaving out all those before Petrarch who from time to time introduced new words, subdued their roughness and polished them to the state in which Dante left the language,--how many words from the Greek, the Latin, the Provençal and common Italian has Petrarch added? How may have been added by judicious writers since his time? Judicious, Caro says advisedly, for despite the seeming partisanship he by no

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means advocates a rash gathering together of words, without conformity to style, reason, and idiom.[1]

Ruscelli strikes yet another note, one later echoed by the French and English, when he proclaims the perfection of his native tongue. I can prove, he says, that this language most beautiful in itself as the work of our poets shows, is superior to the language and poetry of either the Latins or the Greeks. All matters of art are reduced to perfection. For by study and culture the Italians have drawn from the Greeks, the Latins, the Spanish, the French, and even from the Germans, the Hebrews and other strange nations many things, in words, in phrasing, and in figures, which have enriched the language in the guise in which we see it today."[2]

Instances of such criticism could be multiplied indefinitely. Enough has been said, however, to illustrate the source, the inherent character of repetition common to all Renaissance criticism, and the constant development toward a diction regulated by fixed principles; as well as to establish the keenness and universality of interest in the subject.

It has been stated that this criticism culminated in Tasso, not because he was endowed with superlative critical insight, but because there is in him a summing up of the general view. A voluminous writer, reared in an atmosphere of literary culture, Tasso possessed to an extraordinary degree the faculty of retailing the opinions of others.

Tasso and Spenser approach each other more nearly than any other literary figures of the century. Both are poets of a high order of genius. Both come to their task equipped with rare

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1.- Apologia: pp. 35-37. 2.- Introduction to Rime et Prose of Minturno, p. ii.

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training, and holding in mental solution the critical dogma of the age. The result is to be discussed later. But, whether by direct knowledge, through similarity of training, or likeness of temperament, the work of Spenser more nearly reflects the critical attitude of Tasso than of any other writer.

The criticism which moulded the vernacular of Italy into a flexible medium of cultured literature was carried to France and England. In France it bred the Pleiade. Fabri writes that art is necessary in all things; elegance consists in expressing one's meaning purely and clearly in noble terms; clearness and brevity are to be sought above everything.[1] Sebillet[2] urges the augmentation of the language. Recourse should be had to Latin and Greek writers, and especially to translators of the old authors, among whom he cites Macault and Jean Martin.[3] Although the innovations of these last may seem rude, it must be remembered through their authority supported both by art and industry, qualities singularly required in the innovation of diction, much has been established previously unknown to our ancestors. Sebillet omits details as already formulated by classic writers, but he follows Horace in warning that innovations be made modestly and with judgment.

Du Bellay gives an able discussion on the means of enriching the language. He prescribes invention as a primary method, pointing out that innovation in art demands a corresponding innovation in language. It is permitted to mechanics and advocates to use new terms; why should a like liberty be denied learned men who wish to enrich by a few words a language not yet sufficiently ample?

1.- Rhetorique (1521), pp. 22, 27, 66-67. 2.- Art Poetique Francoya (1548) C. IV, pp. 29-33. 3.- Ib. V. note, p. 31.

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Such a stricture would be more rigid than the laws of Greece and Rome. He urges, therefore, that the poet no longer fear, especially in a long poem, to invent new words; but, he adds, let him use restraint, analogy, and judgment of the ear. Then, let him care neither for praise nor blame, but trust to the approval of posterity, which gives sanction to the doubtful, light to the obscure, novelty to the ancient, familiarity to the unaccustomed, and sweetness to the harsh and rude. He cites the use of old words in Vergil. Of the French he says there are a "mil'autres bons motz, que nous avons perduz par notre negligence." "Ne doute point," he urges, "que le moderé vraige de telz vocables [the ancients] ne donne grande maiesté, tant au vers comme à la Prose, ainsi que font Reliques des Sainctz aux Croix, et autres sacres Ioyaux dediez aux Temples."[1]

The Pleiade centres in Ronsard. He writes in his Preface to the Franciade: "I wish to strongly encourage the writer to take the wise boldness of inventing new words, provided they follow an example already received by the public. It is very difficult to write well in our language, if it is not enriched, beyond what it is at present, with words and varied phrasing. Those who write daily in it know well the restraint they endure, and the extreme annoyance of using always the same word." Beyond all, he warns, let there be no scruple in restoring to use antique words, principally those of the Walloon and Picard languages which were for many centuries the true examples of French. Choose the most pregnant and significant words to serve poetry at need, not only from the said languages, but from the provinces of France.[2] Of such vital importance does consider this principle he repeats it: "I advise you

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1.- Deffense et Illustration (1549) Ch. IV, pp. 125-130.
2.- Pref. to Franciade, p. 32.

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to use indifferently all dialects as I have said; among which the courtly is always the most beautiful by reason of the majesty of the princes.[1] But even this cannot be perfect without the aid of others, for each garden has its particular flower. ..... Learn your Greek and Latin diligently, look to your Italian and Spanish and when you have mastered them perfectly, draw upon them as a good soldier draws upon the conquered; then write write in your mother tongue as did Homer, Hesiod, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Vergil, Titus Livius, Sallust, Lucreece and a thousand others."[2]

Ronsard's teaching is a system of reiteration: Do not reject the old words of our romances, he writes, but choose them with prudence.[3] Do not despise the old words of France for they always have vigor. In regard to Latin he states that earlier writers have drawn upon its riches too carelessly when there were native words equally good. He wishes, nevertheless, that the poet should boldly compose words in imitation of the Greek and Latin provided that they be gracious and pleasant to the ear. He reminds that the earliest have forged words since accepted as most beautiful and significant.[4] He calls attention to the resources offered by technical words, and the possibility of drawing figures, vivid and beautiful, from the trades.[5] Old words, of which only fragments are left may be made to live again--grow and multiply in new forms.[6] Above all things else Ronsard seeks to restore ancient words and to weld all dialects into one rich and living language. Learn, he bids, aptly to choose and appropriate to your work the most significant word of the dialects of France, when you have no word so good

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1.- Cf. (L'Abrégé: p. 321). Here he warns against the language of the court as affected and often very bad. 2.- Ibid., pp. 33-34. 3.- L'Abrégé: p. 320. 4.- Ibid., p. 335. 5.- Ibid., p. 321. 6.- Ibid., p. 335.

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and expressive in your own tongue. Care not whether the word be Gascon, Poictevon, Norman, Manceaux, Lyonnaise or of any other section, provided only they are good and correctly express what you wish to say. (But have care not to speak too affectedly the language of the court, which is sometimes very bad.) Know that the Greek language would never have been so rich in dialects and words, but for the number of republics; each of these, emulous of glory, had its own writers. Language extends national glory.[1]

From Vauquelin we hear an echo of Ronsard with a soft tempering note. He repeats all of his master's teaching,[2] adding more detailed devices for enriching the language; but he sanely warns against too free use of old and provincial words, aptly using the simile of turning from a pure fountain to stagnant waters, and citing waters, and citing Monin as a warning and a laughing stock.[3]

De Laudun adds the accumulated weight of repetition to theories already cited. But he too gives a hint that earlier teachings have been too literally followed, and warns that it is not necessary to choose rude or gross words.[4]

In Boileau's Traité du Sublime we have a vista of criticism that sweeps down through the centuries and opens upon the period immediately succeeding the Renaissance. Longinus speaks through Boileau: --"there is perhaps nothing whence the orators and all the writers in general who study the Sublime, draw more grandeur, elegance, fitness, weight, force, and vigor for their works, than from the choice of words. It is through them that all these beauties shine in the discourse as in a rich picture, and give to the theme a soul and life. For to speak truly beautiful words are the right

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1.- Ibid., p. 321. 2.- L'Art Poetique: ll. 315-345 sq.; l. 225 sq.; l. 285; l. 301, l. 307; ll. 361-365; ll. 371-390; l. 408 sq.
3.- Ib. ll. 907 sq. 4.- L'Art Poetique: Bk. II, c.3, p. 133sq.; Bk. III, p. 77.

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and natural light of our thoughts."[1]

The criticism of diction in England as compared with continental advance in the subject was crude. There are none of the studied devices which have been observed in the teachings of the French and Italian critics. The history of English diction is yet to be written, but its dominant note is nationalism. This note, English for English men, was sounded in the translations of Alfred and Aelfric. It was struck anew in the prefaces and prologues of the unvarnished but sturdy Caxton, and was again repeated by Wilson, Cheke, and Ascham.

Nor is the slogan, English for English men, the only national phase in the matter of diction. English diction was established by deeds rather than by discussion. The work of Chaucer which antedates the rise of criticism as a distinct branch of English literature, is proof of this. The unparalleled brilliancy of Elizabethan literature had thews and sinews of intellectual vigor which shaped its own language. There is no intention here to minimize the importance of such utterances as Chaucer's "the word mote be cousin to the dede," which embodies the very spirit of decorum; nor of the authors of the second and third versions of the Visions of Piers Ploughman, when they reiterate the axiom that the greatest art is to conceal art. Scores of other such utterances are to be gathered, even among the despised romances. These expressions establish the existence of an active critical apprehension, and the knowledge of foreign ~~critical theory~~, but English criticism of diction had not, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century crystallized into a functioning factor of literary creation. This postponement of the conscious tutelary and experimental stage of the vernacular, actively sought by Italy and France, had the effect of delaying the standard-

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1.- Boileau's Translation of Longinus' treatise On the Sublime, pp. 90-91.

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ization or adolescence of the English language for another century.

With Wilson, Cheke, and Ascham formal criticism was initiated in England.[1] The more rabid phase of Elizabethan criticism of diction, which savagely attacks the rakehelly route of ragged rhymers, the Italianate Englishmen, inkhorn terms, and sesquipedalian words,[2] falls dully on modern ears. For the ephemeral crowd of writers who drew upon themselves such condemnation has been eliminated by time. Wilson excellently characterizes these, in a passage which sheds much light on the fads and follies of speech in his day.[3]

His wholesale condemnation of foreign and inkhorn terms is succeeded by a slight effort toward constructive work. He is

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1.- Cox's Rhetoric (1524), Sherry's Rhetoric (1550), Elyot's The Gouvenour (1551) are not to be reckoned as formal criticism.
2.- Wilson, Thos.: Rhetoric, Bk. III, pp. 160-166. Ascham's Schoolmaster, Bk. I, pp. 72-92; the controversial writings of Harvey and Nash; Robt. Greene's Quips for an Upstart Courtier; Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie: Bk. III, ch. IV; Webbe, Wm., A Discourse of Englishe Poetrie, p. 246 (Smith, V. 1).
3.- Rhet. Bk. III, "Among all other ſeſſons this ſhould firſt be learned, that wee neuer affect any ſtraunge or ynkehorne termes, but to ſpeake as is commonly receiued: neither ſeeking to be ouer fine nor yet liuing ouer-careleſſe vſing our ſpeeche as moſt men doe, and ordering our wittes as the feweſt haue done. Some eeke o far for outlandiſh Engliſh that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare ſweare this, if ſome of their mothers were aliue, thei were not able to tell what they ſay: and yet theſe fine Engliſh clerkes will ſay, they ſpeake in their mother tongue, if a man ſhould charge them for counterfeiting the Kings Engliſh. Some farre iourneyed gentleman at their retirne home, like as they loue to goe in forraine apparell, ſo thei will pouder their talke with ouer ſea language. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke French Engliſh and neuer bluſh at the matter. An other chops in with Engliſh Italienated, and applieth the Italian phraſe to our Engliſh ſpeaking, the which is, as if an Oratour that profeſſeth to vtter his mind in plaine Latine, would needes ſpeake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of ſtraunge antiquitie..... The fine courtier will talke nothing but Chaucer. The miſticall wiſeman and Poeticall Clerkes will speake nothing but quaint Prouerbes, and blinde Allegories, delighting much in their owne darkeneſſe, eſpecially, when none can tell what they doe ſay. The vnlearned or fooliſh phantaſticall, that ſmelles but of learning (ſuch fellowes as haue ſeen learned men in their daies) wil ſo latin their tongues, that the ſimple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke ſurely they ſpeake by ſome reuelation.

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dismayed at the chaotic state of the language and hints at the necessity for standardization: "either we must make a difference of English and say some is learned English and other some is rude English, or the one is court talke, the other is countrey speech, or els we must of necessitie banish all such Rhetorique, and vse altogether one maner of language." The prime qualities in diction are, for him, simplicity and clearness. Latin and Greek words are to be admitted only when already well established in the language, and commonly understood. Cicero is his guide in the choice of words: first that the words be proper to the tongue used; second that they be plain for all men to perceive; third that they be apt and meet to set out the matter; fourth that translated words (metaphor) be used to beautify the sentence. The characteristic features of Wilson's criticism are nationalism and saneness. The first demands an exclusion of foreign elements, the second, of remote or obsolete terms not universally understood.

The words of Cheke strengthen the position of Wilson: "I am of this opinion that our tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangled with borrowing of other tunges. ..... For then doth our tung naturallie and praisablie utter her meaning, when she bouroweth no counterfeitness of other tunges to attire her self withall, but useth plainlie her own ..... and if she want at ani tym yet let her borrow with such bashfulness, that it mai appeer that if either the mould of our own tung could serve us to fassion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned could content and ease this neede, we wold not boldly venture of unknowen words."[1]

In the utterances of Cheke and Wilson may be distinctly read

1.- Letter to Thos. Hoby prefixed to his translation of the Courtier.

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a reaction against excesses engendered by continental teaching. Moreover, this criticism of diction is colored to a certain extent by a moral prejudice against foppish foreign fashion. This is especially true of Ascham in whom the moralist and schoolmaster often cloud the clearness of the critic. He condemns the use of "straunge and inkhorne termes," but this is only a part of his alignment of the corrupt influences of Italy. In Varro and Sallust he condemns old and rough words, and foreign phrasing, but here the point of interest is the suitability of the works in question for teaching purposes.

For the three pioneers of English criticism the force of their teaching centres in the creation of a national diction, clear, and simple, and purged of all extravagances.

A few other critical passages are worthy of note. King James writes: "Ye mon also take heid to frame your wordis and sentencis according to the mater"....; and - "Gif your purpose be of landwart affairis, to vse corruptit and vplandis wordis."[1] The last has the interest of being probably the only direct expression in the English criticism of the period, of a principle almost universally taught by Italian and French critics, and followed by Spenser.[2]

The avowed purpose of Puttenham is "to make of a rude rimer a learned and a Courtly poet." (Bk. III, c.). Therefore there appear in his work the practical elements of a constructive criticism which approach the method but not the view of the continent. His theory remains essentially English, and in general close to Wilson. In a passage[3] which excellently supplements the glimpse given by

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1.- A Short Treatise on Verse (1584) (Smith: V. 1, p. 218).
2.- The letter of E. K. is excepted as being a direct expression of Spenser's views. 3.- "This part (diction) in our maker or Poet must be heedyly looked vnto, that it be naturall, pure, and the most vsuall of all his countrey; and for the same purpose rather

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Wilson of the state of language he condemns, the use of dialect, the"peeuish affectation" of primitive words by scholars, and the imitation of the early poets, even Chaucer. Like Dante he finds his ideal language in the court: "Ye shall therefore take the vsuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within Ix myles, and not much aboue. I do not say this but that in euery shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake, but specially write, as good Southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of euery shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned clarkes do for the most part condescend;"--. With further detail he defines the words which may be judiciously admitted to the language, makes a just and clear statement of decorum, defines style, enumerates six classic points of good spitch, and posits diction as an Art.[1]

Sidney touches with lightness and surety upon the sorest

1.- Ib. ch. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

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continued)

that which is spoken in the kings court, or in the good townes and Cities within the land, then in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes, where straungers haunt for traffike sake, or yet in Vniuersities where Schollers vse much peeuish affectation of words out of the primatiue languages, or finally, in any vplandish village or corner of a Realme, where is no resort but of poore rusticall or vnciuill people: neither shall he follow the speach of a craftes man or carter or other of the inferiour sort, though he be inhabitant or bred in the best towne and Citie in this Realme, for such persons doe abuse good speaches by strange accents or ill shapen soundes and false ortographie. But he shall follow generally the better brought vp sort, such as the Greekes call charientes, men ciuill and graciously behauored and bred. Our maker therfor at these dayes shall not follow Piers plowman, nor Gower, nor Lydgate nor yet Chaucer, for their language is now out of vse with vs; neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men, such as they vse in dayly talke, whether they be noble men or gentlemen or of their best clarkes, all is a matter; nor in effect any speech vsed beyond the riuer of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our as our Southerne English is; no more is the far Westerne mans speach."

The Arte of English Poesie (1589) Bk. III, c. 4.

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faults of the age. The "honey flowing matron eloquence," he says, has been disguised "in a courtesan-like painted affectation: one time with so far-fet words, that may seem monsters.....another time with coursing of a letter, as if they were bound to follow the method of a dictionary, another time with figures and flowers extremely winter-starved." Euphuism he does not name but writes: "Now for similitudes in certain printed discourses, I think all herbarists all stories of beasts, fowls, and fishes are rifled up, that they may come in multitudes to wait upon any of our conceits, which certainly is as absurd a surfeit to the ear as is possible." The fault lies not with the language but the writer who "using art to show art and not to hide art--as in these cases he should do--flieth from nature and indeed abuseth art. For the language itself, it is "capable of any excellent exercising of it," and "for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world...."[1]

In 1595 this praise was echoed in the tractate of Sir Richard Carew, The Excellency of the English Tongue, which clearly emulated similar eulogies already noted among the Italian and French.

This brings to a close our review of the critical attitude toward diction of Spenser's age. Of the above citations from English writers, only the views of Wilson, Cheke, and Ascham were published in time to have influenced our poet. The social and literary relations of Sidney and Spenser place almost beyond question the restraining influence upon the protégé of the clear and temperate views of the patron, although as Spenser has hinted,[2] and Sidney[3] himself recorded they did not always agree. The common influence

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1.- Defense of Poesy (1595), pp. 52, 54. 2.- Spenser's letter to Harvey 3.- Defense of Poesy, p. 47.

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of Italian literature and criticism upon both would render indeterminate any effort to define the scope of mutual influence. For the remaining citations, the significance lies merely in the common recognition of contemporary problems which posits an atmospheric knowledge of and inter-relation with continental criticism.[1]

The outstanding features of English criticism of diction are two. In the long and barren period between Chaucer and Wyatt and Surrey there were two distinct trends in the development of literature: the one of a popular literature which tended to preserve old and dialect forms, and culminated in the Morte d'Arthur of Malory,[2] and other publications of Caxton and Wynken de Worde; the other of a learned literature which made Latin, or a Latinated English its medium and culminated in Erasmus, Colet, and More. Moreover, the prevalence of foreign travel introduced an extensive and ill-considered use of borrowed terms and phrases. With these diverse elements a self-conscious criticism demanded not the enrichment but the expurgation of the language. Hence the earliest critics sought an elimination of old, obsolete, and dialect terms on the one hand, and of ink-horn terms and foreign borrowings on the other. At one with this demand for a pure English diction was the assertion of nationalism.

In contrast with this the insistent demand of French criticism was for an enrichment of the language by a resort to Latin, foreign, and dialect forms, and by the reintroduction and rebuilding of old words. A little in advance of England, the literary ambition

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1.- Here mention should be made of Hoby's translation (1561) of Castiglione's Courtier. 2.- Ascham attests the unpopularity of such works: "Yet I know when God's Bible was banished the Court and "Morte Arthur" received into the prince's chamber." Capt. Cox's Library. Some account of Pub.: Halliwell Phillips. Shakespeare Soc. Papers, London, 1849, v. 9, p. 17-35.

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of France was the creation of a national epic to rival the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Aeneid. For this a rich medium was the primary requisite. Hence language was the central interest of the Pleiade.

In Italy the same interest existed but was not so keenly centralized. The epic of Dante was a proud national monument. The work of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Poliziano, Lorenzo, Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto went forward by gradations upon the epic path. Criticism was an art in itself that sought the perfection of art. This found a realization in the epic of Tasso, which is a work of conscious art rather than inspiration. In the criticism of both nations there is reiterated, to an extent beyond reproduction, the necessity of enriching the vernacular. The poet is taught to borrow, to invent, to alter, to transpose, to collect, and to reinstate. Above all is urged the literary value of ancient words[1] in adding richness, dignity, and distinction to language.

It was in this atmosphere of intense critical interest that Spenser sought a noble and flexible medium for his own epic conception.

The outstanding features of Spenser's diction are his copiousness, his use of archaisms, and the musical quality of his language. Of these, the two last are but specific features of the first. The three are so closely interlineated as to render a clear

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1.- Du Bellay: Deff. et Illus. (1549), ch. VI, p. 128. The use of ancient words gives "grande maiesté; Muzio: Dell'Arte Poetica:p. 71; Minturno: L'Arte P-. Bk. IV, p. 301. To give to the verse majesty it is granted to the poet to use ancient and disused words; Ibid., p. 321. "Per la qual cosa le parole, che rendono il verso magnifico, e maiestevole, sono l'Antiche dalla consuetudine del parlare accettate: e le Pellegrini, purche non sia Barbaresimo, e le Fatte, e le nuouamente trovate, se l'uso le riceue, e gli orecchi non le schifano: e le Traslate, ch'a guisa di matutine stelle adornano, & illuminano il dire." Tasso: Del Poema Eroico:- "e particolarmente le parole disusate la fanno più venerabile, perchè sono come forestieri tra cittadini."

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division of the topics impossible; hence the discussion must shift from one to the other as occasion demands.

To the student the most overt quality of Spenser's language is the fullness and fluency. The honeyed smoothness of his words as they flow in soft cadences gives no hint of "fine filed" phrase. Words follow words with such ease and fitness of time and rhythm, they seem created for that place alone; the reader scarcely pauses to note from how many sources the poet has drawn his words, that a courtly word of France may rhyme with a soft sound of Italy, or yet again with a quaint word that smacks of its Saxon origin.

In its initial stage Spenser's copiousness may be attributed to his vast learning,[1] wide reading,[2] marvellous memory, and powers of assimilation. But the riches with which his mind was stored, were varied and increased by every device and license allowed by critical authority to the poet.

As we have seen one of the points most insistently taught in French and Italian criticism was the literary value of old words. Spenser's use of archaisms is both a distinctive characteristic of his diction and a fertile source of his copiousness.

When Spenser published his Shepheard's Calendar it was prefaced by an epistle from E. K. to Harvey. Whatever may have been the corporal identity of E. K., he was a gentleman who enjoyed a most intimate acquaintance with the workings of the poet's mind. He speaks with authority: The manner of framing his words, he writes of the new poet, "will seeme the straungest, the words themselves being so auncient, the knitting of them so short and intricate, and the whole periode and compasse of speache so delightsome for the rounnesse, and so

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1.- Cf. Infra. C. IX
2.- Wm. Riedner: Spenser's Belesenheit.

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grave for the straungeness. And firste of the wordes to speake, I graunt they be something hard, and of most men unused, yet both English, and also used of most excellent authors and most famous poetes. In whom whenas this our poet hath bene much traveiled and throughly redd, how could it be (as that worthy oratour sayde) but that walking in the sonne, although for other cause he walked, yet needs he mought be sunburnt; and having the sound of those auncient poetes still ringing in his eares, he mought needes in singing hit out some of theyr tunes. But whether he useth them by such casualtye and custome, or of set purpose and choyse, as thinking them fittest for such rusticall rudeness of shepheards, eyther for that theyr rough sounde would make his rymes more ragged and rustical, or els because such olde and obsolete wordes are most used of country folke, sure I think, and think I think not amisse, that they bring great grace and, as one would say, auctoritie to the verse. For albe amongst many other faultes it specially be objected of Valla against Livie, and of other against Saluste,[1] that with over muche studie they affect antiquitie, as coveting thereby credence and honor of elder yeeres, yet I am of opinion, and eke the best learned are of lyke, that those auncient solemne wordes are a great ornament both in the one and in the other; the one labouring to set forth in hys worke an eternall image of antiquitie, and the other carefully discoursing matters of gravitie and importaunce. For if my memory fayle not, Tullie, in that booke wherein he endevoureth to set forth the paterne of a perfect oratour, sayth that ofttimes an auncient worde maketh the style seeme grave and as it were reverend: ..... . Yet nether every where must old words be

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1.- Cf. Ascham: Schoolmaster, pp. 182-186; Vives: On Education: pp. 139,140,141,147,148,154.

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stuffed in, nor the commen dialecte and maner of speaking so corrupted therby, that, as in old buildings, it seme disorderly and ruinous. But all as in most exquisite pictures they use to blaze and portraict not onely the daintie lineaments of beautye, but also rounde about it to shadow the rude thickets and craggy clifts, that, by the baseness of such parts, more excellency may accrew to the principall (.....) even so doe those rough and harsh termes enlumine and make more clearly to appeare the brightness of brave and glorious words. ..... But if any will rashly blame such his purpose in choyse of old and unwonted words, him may I more justly blame and condemne, or of witlesse headinesse in judging, or of heedelesse hardinesse in condemning: for not marking the compasse of hys bent, he will judge the length of his cast: for in my opinion it is one special prayse, of many whych are dew to this poete, that he hath laboured to restore, as to theyr rightfull heritage such good and naturall English words as have ben long time out of use and almost cleare disherited. Which is the onely cause that our mother tonge, which truely of itself is both ful enough for prose and stately enough for verse, hath long time ben counted most bare and barrein of both." He bitterly condemns those who seek to patch up the language, with borrowings "here of the French, there of the Italian, everywhere of the Latine" and so made "our English tongue a gallimanfray or hodgepodge of al other speches"; and those who "will not onely themselves not labor to garnish and beautifie it, but also repine that of other it shold be embellished."

This exposition is invaluable in its demonstration of the deliberately critical attitude of the poet. It exhibits the blending of continental and national elements which is characteristic of

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all Spenser's work. In the principle and method of enriching the language, in the literary purpose of the archaisms, and in the principle of decorum, Spenser has followed French and Italian criticism. For this abundant authority has been adduced. But in his effort to establish a pure English diction, and to refine and polish the language the critic poet was under a distinct national influence, which was exerted through the pronounced views of Wilson, Cheke, and Ascham, through the early efforts of Wyatt, Surry, and Turbervile to subdue the rude vernacular, and through the inspiration of Chaucer.

In his method of securing this end Spenser took a means and a stand in opposition to the national view, namely his revival of obsolete and dialect words. The use of these we have seen condemned by the early critics.[1] Sidney writes: "The Shepherd's Calendar hath much poetry in his eclogues, indeed worthy the reading, if I be not deceived. That same framing of his stile to an old rustic language I dare not allow, since neither Theocritus in Greek, Vergil[2] in Latin, nor Sannazzaro in Italian did affect it."[3]

"Let others sing of Knights and palladines
In aged accents and untimely words."[4]

1.- Supra, pp. 2.- Vives holds an opposite view: "Vergil strove to catch the charm of the country dialects, in which kind of effort Theocritus allowed himself considerable indulgence." On Education: p. 137. 3.- Defense __. p. 47. It is worthy of note here that Bruno, whose influence over Sidney in other matters is evident, names among a list of vain pursuits "the revival of obsolete words, and the attempt to lift them again to the stars." Aeneas Silerus, whose writings were well known in England, also condemns the use of old terms. He quotes Aulus Gellius of Thavorinius: "Copy the virtues of the great men of old, but let their archaisms die with them." (Woodward: Vittorino da Feltre, pp. 145-147.)
4.- Sonnet 52.

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Two decades later Ben Jonson spoke with contempt: "Spenser, in affecting the ancients writ no language."[1] The letter of E. K. forestalls and answers just such criticism. It moreover establishes the independent attitude of the poet, for secure in the French and Italian support[2] of his views, he again puts his theory into practice in the Faerie Queene.

The gap between the rugged diction of the Shepherd's Calendar, and the courtly phrasing of the Faerie Queene, may be bridged by a single critical tenet, decorum. The one work is as consciously archaic as the other; the degree rests in the adaptation of diction to character, setting, theme, and genre. The difference but emphasizes the critical method of the poet.

It has been shown that Spenser's theory of diction embraced a double conception of the poet's function: as an autocrat of poetic diction his was the power to enlarge, modify, and embellish the language at will; as the arbiter of the national language his was the duty to establish and preserve the integrity and purity of the vernacular. It is the purpose of this discussion to determine to what degree he reconciled these functions, and to interpret the true nature of his diction.

At the risk of establishing a paradox with what precedes and what must follow, it must be stated that Spenser's vocabulary is essentially English and essentially simple. His most copious innovations, the use of archaic words, are English. His Latinisms are few and well established. His foreign terms are largely the phrasing of the court-of-love parlance, so familiar as to have lost its foreign flavor, or else they are words and inventions motivated by metric considerations.

1.- Discoveries: p. 57, l. 2 e (Ed. by Schelling)
2.- V. Supra: p. . cf. Trissino: Div. VI, p. 13.

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In this matter of diction the influence of the earlier critics has been acknowledged. But the controlling force is to be found in Chaucer. For in the great poet Spensef recognized not only the Father of English Poetry, but the Father of English Diction. This was a national view.[1]

In the whole Faerie Queene, Spenser names the master but once;[2] then he is--

"Dan Chaucer well of English undefyled,
On Fames eternall beadroll worthie to be filed."
IV, ii, 32.

From this well Spenser drew inspiration. He sought to become in turn the master of English speech. He did not attempt to reproduce the diction of Chaucer. The two poets need only to be read together to establish this fact. But he drew from him both words and phrases with which to restore and enrich the native tongue.[3] In this act

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1.- Occleve: I. Works: E.E.TS. V. 61. De Regimine: Chaucer was " e honour of Englyssh tonge" st. 280; the "flour of eloquence," st. 281; Death

"Despoiled hath is land of e swetnesse
Of rethorik / most like to Tully." st. 298.

"The firste fyndere of our faire langage." st. 712.

2.- The fragment of the so-called Bk. VII is not included here. V.

3.- The Glosse of E. K. added to the S. C. supports this statement with specific evidence: Feb. Ec. l. 35: "heardgromes, Chaucers verse almost whole.-E. K." (Hous of Fame. iii, 135-6); May Ec. l. 92: "chevisaunce, sometimes of Chaucer used for gaine: sometime of other for spoyle, or bootie, or enterprise, and sometime for chiefdome.-E. K."; May Ec. l. 251: "clincke, a keyhole. Whose diminutive is clicket, used of Chaucer for a Key.-E.K."; July Ec. l. 177; "glitterand, a participle used sometime in Chaucer, but altogether in I Gower. -E.K."; etc. The glossary of E. K. has not been accorded the full significance due it, as an exposition of Spenser's diction. It confirms to a degree the claim advanced that Spenser's purpose was not the reproduction of an earlier diction but the enrichment of the vernacular through the restoration of old and dialect words, and the incorporation of new and legitimate terms. The commentator usually contents himself with a mere definition of the words. Sometimes he gives a source as in the examples cited above and in: "overture, an open place. The word is borrowed of the French and used in good writers.-E.K." (July Ec. l. 28) "Woe, Woe, Northernly.-E.K." (Sept. Ec., l. 25); and in: Apr. Ec. l. 155: "Yblent, y is a poeticall addition, blent, blinded.-E.K."; May Ec. l. 6, "yclad, arraye. y redoundeth as before. E.K."; Apr. Ec. l. 28. "frenne, a straunger.

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the two functions of the poet met. But Chaucer is by no means to be regarded as the only source of Spenser's archaisms. Spenser knew Gower, Lydgate, and Occleve. The metrical romances from which he drew the body of his material offered rich fields for his experiments in diction. In these last may be found a key to much that is obscure.

Before proceeding to a discussion of specific archaic forms, a brief digression is necessary to clear away some misapprehension that has arisen in regard to Spenser's use of language. First, the diction of the Faerie Queene is by no means so antiquated as it is commonly supposed. This impression has grown up among many who read the poem as the work of a great author, yet fail to familiarize themselves with the body of Elizabethan literature. Furthermore the practice of modernizing texts, great as is the practical value, results in a common misapprehension of the true nature of earlier language. Many features cited as archaisms in Spenser are to be found in his contemporaries. There is nothing in the scholarship of the age to warrant any assumption of scientific knowledge or investigation of Old or Middle English forms by the poet. Hence an examination based upon such an assumption would be in the highest degree unscientific. Spenser's use of earlier forms rests upon his unparalleled power of assimilation, already discussed in another connection. This in turn rests upon familiarity. Hence, we must largely seek the sources of his archaisms in those fields with which he was most familiar.

It has been a common practice to trace Spenser's archaisms

(continued)
The worde, I thinke, was first poetically put, and afterwarde used in common custome of speach for forene. - E.K." The words are drawn from various sources, and E. K.'s glossary is sufficiently complete to enable the ordinary reader to understand the crabbed diction of the S.C. The comments and exact references for classic allusion give illuminating testimony as to the classical training of the day.

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directly to Chaucer. He uses an unusual or obsolete term; the same is found in Chaucer; the inference is clear. In dealing with diction it is not enough to establish that the word is to be found in the place fitted to the argument; its occurrence in other places and its dates must be reckoned with. Many archaic words and phrases found in the Faerie Queene and attributed to Chaucerian influence are to be found among contemporary writers, and, as pointed out, in the romances. Words classed as dialect, as foreign borrowings, and inventions also are often by no means peculiar to Spenser. Therefore the utmost circumspection is therefore required in dealing with the poet's vocabulary.[1] The purpose of the discussion is the demonstration of the poet's critical method, but an effort will be made to corroborate by example the legitimacy of his words and practice.

In the inflection of verbs Spenser found opportunity both for variety and the reinstatement of earlier forms. The verbal ending - en appears as a perfect participle, as an infinitive and as a plural both present and preterite. Primarily it should be observed that all archaic inflections in Spenser's works exist side by side with modern forms, with an overwhelming predominance of the latter. For example burn appears thirty times, twice it assumes the form bren (brenne),[2] in each case as a final syllable and once the form burnen;[3] brought appears approximately three hundred times, broughten[4] occurs but once; wrought, one hundred and fifty times, wroughten, once. Neither of the antiquated[5] forms appears in the Faerie Queene. Undue emphasis has been laid upon the unique appearance of broughten, stroven, and liveden[6] as preterites. As plurals, infinitives, and

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1.- In this discussion of language I wish to acknowledge as my predecessors: Wagner, G., On Spenser's Use of Archaisms, Inaug. Diss. Halle, 1879; Miss Barrow, Master's Diss. U. of C., 1902; For dialect: Mr. Wilkinson: Edmund Spenser and the East Lancashire Dialect: Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancashire & Cheshire, V. VII, p. 87 sq.;

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participles the form appears oftener, but even here the proportion is almost negligible. Comen[1] occurs but three times in the Faerie Queene although come appears more than a hundred times. Bounden occurs three times, but this last as a theological and poetic word has always been current. As regards the forms in -en the poet's attitude is evident. By analogy with words in which the ending was regularly retained, it appeared a good English form worthy of restoration. It added a flexible light syllable which could be used or discarded at will, a point most grateful in iambic structure. It softened monosyllabic stress, and aided in reducing the line to the level accent sought by Spenser. Last, the form was not altogether so archaic as it now seems, for it was current in many words in which it has since been discarded.[2]

The endings - st - est, edest - eth which help to lend archaic color to Spenser's pages, were common in all literature of the age. In Spenser they are unusually frequent and are made entirely subservient to metrical purposes.

An interesting and possibly genuinely archaic form is to be found in a few instances of a participle in -and, glitterand[3] and

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1.- Ib. II, XI, 29, 9, V, IX, 21, 3; VI, XI, 44, 1.
2.- Wilson: Arte of Rhetorique, Bk. III, p. 165, doen; Ded. of Rule of Reason, doen; Elyot's Gouvenour, Bk. I, p. 26, Bk. II, p. 157, founden; Bk. II, p. 131, striken, aboden; Bk. II, pp. 144 to 146, commen; Bk. II, p. 145, knowen; Hoby's Courtier: 3.- F.Q. I, iv, 16, 9; I,VII, 29, 4; II, vii, 42, 1; II, XI, 17, 1: (S.C. Jul. 177,).

(Continued) Grosart: Spenser's Works, V. 1. ; Prof. Long. My own observations, and numerical statements have been checked by reference to Osgood's Concordance. 2.- F.Q. III, iii, 34, 8; IV, iii, 45, 7. 3.- Ib. I, XII, 37, 9. 4.- S.C. Feb. 1. 212. 5.- F. Q. II, X, 7.

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trenchand.[1] This is the form of the Northern present participle; the origin is however open to question. Trenchant[2] appears beside trenchand. Thrillant[3] and persant[4] (persaunt) show the ending of the French present participle. The difference in the final letter may be a mere matter of spelling due to the common substitution of one for the other. Both forms however must have been known to Spenser. The participle in - and is found in Chaucer although he prefers the modern ending - ing (ynge). It appears in Gower, and, as is natural, in Barbour, Dunbar,[5] and Lindsay. In the romances the forms glimerand,[6] glitterand, scinand and schimmerande are quite frequently found.[6]

A large class of archaic forms is to be found in the preterites of both strong and weak verbs. In any analysis of these two qualifying possibilities must be kept in mind: the form may be a mere variant of Elizabethan orthography; the form may be genuinely archaic yet current among other writers. Plonge, hong, strook, strake, song, sung, sang, dronck, druncke, and dranke are mere spellings. Quooke and woxe are genuine Middle English form, but of the latter, Spenser uses as variants waxe, woxe, wex, waxen, woxen, wexen, or else changes to a final -ed.

1.- F. Q. I, i, 17, 3, I, xi, 24, 1. 2.- Ib. V, v, 91.
3.- Wagner (p. 47) cites thrilland as an example of the Northern form. I have examined twelve editions of Spenser including one each of 1609, and 1679; in all of these the spelling is thrillant and it is so noted in the N.E.D. V. F.Q. I, xi, 20, 2, II, iv, 46, 1. 4.- F.Q. I, x, 47, 5; II, iii, 23, 4; III, ix, 20, 9.
5.- "Full low inclinand - ": Dunbar, Ellis's Spec. "Our sovereign havand" ... Lord Herries (1568) N.E.D. 6.-Sir Degrevant: Lincoln MS. "Glemerand hir sycle": The Wars of Alexander: Chasteand, l. 4607, flatband; schemerand, ll. 483, 5592, shemerand, 1544; lazand l. 4367, gleterand, ll. 3346, 3797, 3686, 5536, glyssy nand, ll. 3015. Cf. E.K.'s comment, July Ec., l. 177.

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Meint[1] (menged, mingled), nempt[1] (nemman), yold[2], underfong[1], molt, swolt, herried, tane, shend, girn[1], to-lorn[3] and garred are old and less common forms. Holped, holpen, housled, nousled, ween, rede, wot, mote, kenned, couth, hote, yode,[4] and its hybrid preteritive present yead[4] are all old forms, which are yet common in Elizabethan literature. Most if not all appear in Shakespeare. In Elyot's Gouvenour are to be found numerous terms cited as archaic ~~or~~ in Spenser.

Two antique verb phrasings Spenser has assimilated and used with good effect: do as a causative "doen him to die," and can, as an enclitic auxiliary, having the force of did or a simple preterite. The phrasing is Chaucerian, but not peculiarly so, as the expressions are common in the romances.[5] The context in these last, and in Spenser makes it quite feasible that can had come to be felt as gan.

Another large group of verbs, which are lifted by prefixes from their usual form, may be classed as poetic. The chief particles are a-, ab-, ac-, af-, de-, dis-, en-, for-, un-, to-, and y-. As well established and significant prefixes these formed a legitimate method by which any poet might vary his diction. We find: abeare, adrad, accourage, advew, affrend, behappen, besprint, depart or dispart (divide), disease, disadvaunce, discounsell, enmove, encheare, enrace, forgo, fordo, to-rent, to- , to bruzd, ybet, yrond, ycleped, ytost. A reference to the glossaries of Chaucer, of

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1.- See Glossary;Ritson's Ancient Metrical Romances. 2.- Guy of Warwick, ll. 10215. 3.- Erle of Toulous; l. 94. 4.- Childe Maurice: (Child's Bal. II, p. 314) yodest, Wm. of Palerne, l. 3672, Holy Rood, p. 115, Erle of Toulons, l.617, Le Bone Florence, l. 391, 544. 5.- Drant: "Years yead away faces fair deflowre"; ~~Le~~ Bryskett: Past. Aeclogue. 6.- Guy of Warwick: l. 1428, "That er sperys can toschyder"; l. 1600. "Forthe in fere can they goo"; l. 2781. "The emperoure can th wende." l. 3744. "He can mete a straunge sweven"; Bp. Percy's Folio MS. V.III, p. 275 sq.; p. 286, l. 250, l. 274 .

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Shakespeare, and of the romances will fully establish the right of the foregoing forms to be included in the poetic vocabulary of an Elizabethan.

In his use of nouns Spenser's archaism are few and simple. The old plural in -en attributed to him is confined to eien (eyen),[1] brethren, and fone (foen).[2] These words had commonly retained this form and are not to be classed as unusual. The so-called old-plural and possessive in -es is the ordinary Elizabethan spelling. When the apostrophe first came into use, it was employed indifferently to denote the omission of "e" in the possessive or plural form. Spenser pronounced -es as a separate syllable only when the exigencies of metre so required. The spelling of such nouns as humblesse, finenesse, and holinesse was too common to retain any real significance of Old English gender or French derivation. The feminine suffix -ess was also too well established to merit comment, although tyrannesse, championnesse, warriouresse and conqueresse may carry a tinge of satire in their emphasis. Eme, much cited as an archaism in Spenser, where it occurs only once,[3] is not uncommon in Shakespeare,[4] and is frequent in the romances.

In the matter of pronouns, and here must be included Spenser's frequent use of impersonal and reflexive verbs, there is again archaic color. It is unsafe, however, to attribute toomuch direct influence to the older language. Among the Elizabethans pronominal usage had not reached the fixed stage it has since acquired. That the possessive pronoun should follow the name was no rare construction. The exclusive use of it in reference to things without life

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1.-Elyot: Bk. II, p. 137, Bk. I, p. 26. 2.- Erle of Toulous, l. 459. 3.- F. Q. II, X, 47, 1. 4.-

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had not been established. Ye was a common form. Which, what, and that were interchangeable. Swich, swuch, and sich remain in dialect today. Transposition, taught as a rhetorical device, led to stiff and unusual forms. Impersonal and reflexive verbs while strongly characteristic of earlier writing, are a constituent part of poetic diction. These Spenser used freely. The more antiquated use of pronouns found in the Shepherd's Calendar is an effort toward colloquialism prompted by the precepts of decorum. That some of these forms should pass into the Faerie Queene is no matter for wonder. A point often noted is Spenser's use of an old genitive hir, their. There is little certainty, however, that Spenser intended to reinstate this form. The following line is quoted as an instance:[1]

"From the worldes eye and from her right usaunce."
F.Q. II, vii, 7, 4.

World is personified and her is a correct reference. There is no plural antecedent to which the word could refer. In the Shepherd's Calendar there are some instances of its unmistakable use as their,[2] but this fact is offset by the opening lines of the September Aeclogues in which the form is distinctly used as dialect:

Hob. Diggon Davie, I bidde her god day:
Or Diggon her is, or I missaye.

Dig. Her was her while it was daye light,
But now her is a most wretched wight.

As an archaic word hér (hir) could easily have been assimilated from Chaucer, and yet more readily from the romances where it is used with inconceivable laxness. But the unmistakable use of the word as dialect, leaves an open question as to whether it is to be referred to a dialect or archaic source.[3]

1.- Wagner: p. 40. 2.- S. C.: May, l. 61; Sept. l. 39. 3.- The use of her as plural was comparatively common in Shakespeare: Lucr. 1588; Troil. I, 3, 118. Othello III, 3, 66.

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In adverbials and connectives Spenser makes free use of certain old forms: albe, algates, forby, forthy, whilom, eath, uneath, farre, warre, narre, liever, enaunter, ne, nethalas, mo, etc. But these forms which survive today only in poetic language, were not so segregated in Spenser's day. All of these forms are to be found elsewhere, Farre, narre, warre, and lieverwere colloquial. In the very passage in which Sidney condemns Spenser's use of archaisms he writes "sith." Almost every variant of the word is to be found in the Gouvenour. There too appears eath quite as often as in the Faerie Queene. Eft occurs in Puttenham and others.[1] And thus the tale of Spenser's archaisms runs.

Here we may turn briefly to other methods by which the poet enriched his vocabulary. It has been stated that Spenser followed the English critics in their bias against Latinismus. But one "inkehorne terme" can be cited, "trinall triplicities"; it appears twice and because of its mouthfilling rhythm the poet may be forgiven his slip. Among less familiar words which show orthographic traces of nearness to the parent stem are: abiecte (to cast down or out), caerule, conceipt, deceipt, crumenall (Lat. crumena), edify, re-aedify (to build), porcpisces, protense[2] and adward.[3] None of these are peculiar to Spenser, except possibly the two last, which, so far as is known, do not appear elsewhere. Both are simple and legitimate developments. Protense, a drawing on, is merely a shortened form of protension. Award[4] is a hybrid from O. H. G. worden or warten, plus the Latin prefix a-,[5] which Spenser has restored to its

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1.- Walkington: Opt. Glass (1607) p. 145; Golding: Calvin on Deut. (1583) l. 1108; Lyly: Euphues. (Arb. Rep.) p. 315. 2.-F.Q. III,iii, 4,7. 3.- Ibid, IV, X, 17, 5; IV, XII, 30, 4. 4.- V. Miss Barrow; p. 17. The word is related to but not derived from O.F. eswart or esguart. 5.- Skeat: Etymol. Dict.

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true form in adward. The form is a close analogue of the equally accepted avow and advow. Beyond these words and the free use in composition of prefixes, already noted Spenser's work is singularly free from Latinisms.

The influence of the French is more evident. In his use of actual French words, Spenser practically confines himself to symbolic names and to phrasings of courtly parlance which had practically lost their foreign flavor: bel-amour, bel accoyle, beldame (original connotation lost), beauperes, douceperes, belamy, and bellibone (bonnibel). There are some terms of armor: hacqueton, umbriere, haberjeon. To these may be added a long list of more or less well established words which yet preserve more than a hint of their origin: habit (dress), habilitie, habiliment, habitaunce, amenance, souvenance, chevisaunce, captivaunce, comportaunce, defeasaunce, counterdefeasaunce, noyance, amenage, fortilage, galage, percant, poynant, batterlant, paravant, resiant, amate, darrayne, disloigne, essoyne, adaigne, depart (?), martelled, fardelle, portesse, german (relative) peize, hault, table (picture) franion, champian (plain) faict (deed) sell, foyson, and many others. Again it must be emphasized that these words belong, not peculiarly to Spenser, but to the period. And especially do they appear in the romances where many elements of the older English and French meet.

There existed no such affinity between the English and Italian languages, and despite Spenser's facile knowledge of the latter, the list of borrowings is short: arboret, tur(ri)bant, Turchesca, capuccio, guist, belgarde, basciomani. This fact in view of Spenser's general indebtedness to Italy is significant of his desire to preserve the integrity of the vernacular.

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Spenser by no means neglected the freedom accorded to the poet in the manipulation of words. He has employed shortened forms by elimination of prefixes as in gan (began), rayed (arrayed), reave (bereave), siege (besiege), vaunce (advance), vail (prevail), etc.; by contraction: frenne (forenne), p'lace (palace), ventrous (venturous), perlous (perilous), Jasp for Jasper, ne, mo, natheless, nathemoe, nas (has not), nis (is not), nould (would not). Some words he has lengthened, as terribant (It. turbant), picturals, recomfortless, matchable, quietage besides numbers already noted varied by prefixes. Other words he has compounded: not-deserver, soft-sliding, jolly-head.

Nor has he failed to contribute his quota of so-called inventions. The most noted of these is blatant. Since Spenser's day, the word has entered the language and served many a pulpit orator. It is at most an adaptation and was probably known to Spenser in dialect form. The Scotch dialect has the word blate,[1] to bellow, howl, cry out. It was possibly known to the poet in the Northern present participle form bladand. The difference between a final d and t is with Spenser a vanishing point.[2] The word had just the significance needed to translate the glatissant[3] of Malory, and gave to Spenser a vernacular phrasing and a distinctive epithet for the beast borrowed so openly from the pages of the prince of romancers. Provokement, needments, tyreling, treachetour, dreriment, yond,[4] with the ostensible meaning mad, are classed among his inventions. Words cited in other connections need not be repeated here. The liberty in the use of affixes can be most quickly understood through

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1.- Wright's Dialect Dict.; Century Dict. 2.- Trenchand, trenchant, rased, rast, brenned, brent. 3.- V. Gaudefroi: glatir, glatissant; Mort D'Arthur: the Questing Beast, the Beast glatissant.
4.-Cf. Scot. dialect word yan =sick, wretched.

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a reference to a standard dictionary, to Elizabethan glossaries, and to the glossaries of recently edited romances. In these numberless now unfamiliar combinations bear witness to Spenser's moderation in the exercise of his right of creation, and impress the extreme caution necessary in asserting a word to be either an invention, or peculiar to our poet in his own age.

In the creation of symbolic names Spenser gives rein both to his fancy and his knowledge of languages. But here too the watchword must be caution, and the phrase "so far as is known" should preface every speculative assertion. The name Scudamore (amour)[1] long considered a happy invention of the poet to characterize the knight of love, the wooer of the gentle Amoret, belongs to a noble family of Hertfordshire, a fact which would have rejoiced Grosart's spirit. Sir James Scudamour[2] was a gentleman of Elizabeth's court. He is celebrated in Higford's Institutions of a Gentleman as a model courtier, and it is ne who is, in all probability, the prototype of Spenser's knight of love.[3] Nor is the "badge of the bloody hand" or the name Ruddymane[4] a creation of the poet. The application constitutes his invention. Ollifaunte[5] is a common spelling for elephant. The names Malengin and Maleager figure in romance. The brethren of the rhyming names, Sansfoy, Sansjoy, Sansboy, and Priamond, Diamond and Triamond are suggestive of courtly jousts and the romances.[6]

1.- The two spellings appear. 2.- V. Hall's Chronicles ; Fuller's Worthies. 3.- V. Dict. of Nat. Biog. Through the accounts of Hall and Fuller, this identification was reached before, a reference to the above showed the idea was previously known or conceived. 4.- V. Chaucer's Ollifaunte. 5.- The name is common as Ruddiman, but the related form Ruddimanus proves origin.
6.- Priamour and Triamour are found in romances. That Spenser should make a slight change and add the numerical link is characteristic of his invention. Triamour: Sir Tristrem: Scot. Text. Soc. Vol. 8, p. 65, Guy of Warwick, p. 228; For other romance names see Maleager; Ypomedon; Malengin. Sir Cadore the curtayes: Morte Arthure: Ed. Perry, p. 15, l. 481.

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In the creation of many names Spenser has exercised his knowledge of Italian restrained in the matter of general diction. At the same time he has secured a succession of musical syllables. Duessa, Fidessa, Fraelissa, Elissa, Elbesse, Perissa, Charissa, Speranga, Fradubio, Archimago, Ignaro, Orgoglio, Grantorto, Braggadocio, Malbecco, Corcecca, Amoret (Amoretta), and Pastorella are examples of Italianated names. For other names, and especially those of more weighty and learned persons he has turned to the Greek: Eumnestes, Anamnestes, Phantastes, Philotimé, Phaedria and others. The French and Latin have furnished their quota, and it is even possible that from the Irish came the soft Una to distinguish the heroine of the Booke of Holinesse, as the one truth, one faith, one Church.

There is no need to review here the problem of Spenser's use of a specific dialect. The matter has already been discussed[1] and ably refuted.[2] It is perfectly evident, however, that Spenser used both dialect and colloquial words as he saw fit, and as they fitted his rime. Mickle and muchel are Northern forms as are also kembd, and kirke. Glib comes from Ireland. Doth as a plural shows a southern ending. More frequently dialect forms meet the variant orthography on an invisible line of demarcation. The theare, wheere, and beare of the North rhyme with near and fear; the there, where, and bear of the South and Midland rhyme with care.

To enter upon a discussion of Elizabethan orthography is to venture upon a sea of choppy ice, whence retreat is the best course. Orthography was neither a science nor a law in Spenser's day. Endless collations may be made which, through their variety, complicate rather than simplify principles. The spelling of a word with an

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1.- Grosart: Ed. of Spenser, V. I, App. B; Wilkinson: Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire, V. VII, p. 87. 2.-Prof. Long: Anglia 31, pp. 72 sq.

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intrusive b, p, or h, which may be assigned to a legitimate or at least probable source, can be paralleled by forms for which no antecedent relation exists. Into Spenser's spelling went vagary and visualization. The popularity of word play, and of a patent etymology, led to some analytical spelling, but to no uniformity. If only is more frequently spelled onely in the Faerie Queene, it yet appears thirteen times in its modern form. The spelling girland has been attributed by one to Italian influence, by another to the East Lancashire dialect. The Elizabethan spelling includes: gir-, gyr-, ger-, guir-, ghyr-, gher-, and other variants. In Spenser's works, exclusive of compounds, the word appears seventeen times as garland. Guess and chrystal are spelled both with and without an h, as is common among all Elizabethans.

Orthography and diction are alike made subservient to metre, rhyme, and rhythm. The need of an extra syllable is met by a verbal in -en, by a pronounced plural -es, or by some lengthening of a word as quietage for quiet. With equal readiness a syllable is eliminated. The rhythm of open or closed sounds is preserved through a facile use of the earlier ablaut forms. Orthographic modifications are freely used to meet the exigences of rhyme, both of the eye and the ear.[1]

The following table will amply illustrate the liberty exercised by Spenser in both orthography and accent:

1.- Puttenham: (Arte of Eng. Poesie (1589) Ch. IX). Puttenham condemns and allows the practice of eye rhyming in the same paragraph: "Now there can not be in a maker a fowler fault then to falsifie his accent to serue his cadence, or by vntrue orthographie to wrench his words to help his rime, for it is a sign a maker is not copious in his own language or (.....) not halfe his crafts maister. .... neuerthelesse in all such cases (if necessity constrain) it is somewhat more tollerable to help the rime by false orthographies then to leaue an vnpleasant dissonance to the eare by keeping trewe orthographie and loosing the rime, as for example it is better to rime Dore with Restore, then in his truer orthographie which is Doore."

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whot,	rhymes	smot (smote) not	VI,ii,36
was,	"	pas (pass) has	V, XI, 36
dum (b)	"	overcum, mum, becum	IV, 8, 44
men	"	Overen(run) pen	V, 2, 25
set	"	bet (beat) fet (fetch)	V, iii, 11
enter	"	bent her, adventer, center	V, V, 5
bridge	"	ridge, lidge (ledge)	V, VI, 36
wond (remained)	rhymes	fond (found),kond (kenned)	V, VI, 35
line (linen)	"	twine	V, vii, 6
pas	"	mas , was	V, vii, 16
met her	"	better detter	V, 5, 37
overcommen	"	commen (common)	V, 9, 4
won	"	upon, done, alone,	V, 9, 8
pride	"	deride, mercifide	VI, vii, 32
was	"	capias, lasse passe	VI, VII, 35
list	"	blist (strike) mist, wist	VI, 8, 13
give	"	live, drive	VI, 9, 32
regard	"	mard, prefard (preferred)	VI, 9, 20
got	"	allot mote (might)	VI, ii, 4
showed	"	wowed (wooed) vowed	VI, ii, 4
quight (quite)	"	sight, despight, sight (sighed)	VI, ii, 25
alive	"	describe (describe) contrive	VI, xii, 21
give	"	prieve (prove) live	VI, xii, 18
there	"	neare, appeare, teare (rend)	VI, xii, 24
forbeare	"	theare, deare, sweare,	VI, xi, 18
speare	"	teare, heare (hair)	VI, ii, 29
feare	"	beare (bear), peare, somewhere+	VI, ii, 45
were	"	feare, weare (wear) beare	VI, i, 43

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heare	rhymes	requere (require) sweare, fere	Vi, i, 43
blood	"	mood, wood (mad) wood (forests	V, 8, 35
shone	"	fone, mone	I, ii, 23
fone	"	begone, attone, wone	II, x, 10, 3
assaies	"	waies, kaies,	IV, x, 18
Chrysógonce	"	degree	III, VI, 4
Chrysogoné	"	alone, throne	III, VI, 5
bee	"	degree, chevalrie, nie (near)	IV, iii, 2
indignity	"	tie, chevalrie,	V, vii, 3
nie	"	flee, majestie, Q	V, viii, 14
Just	"	brust (burst)	V, viii, 22
day	"	slay, away, fay (faith)	V, viii, 19
theft	"	reft, gieft (gift)	V, x, 14
Cost (coast)	"	crost, tost, lost	VI, x, 49
hight	"	keight (caught), slight, plight	III, ii, 30
wight	"	sight, shright (shrieked)	III, viii, 32
men	"	bren (burn) den	III, iii, 34
Ardenne	"	penne, men, brenne	IV, iii, 45

The above examples, selected from approximately twenty-seven thousand lines of poetry, are not indicative of the true character of Spenser's rhyme. For of rhyme he was a master unexcelled in skill and sweetness. They but complete the tale of precepts in diction as set forth by the critics of Italy and the poets of the Pleiade, and give final proof of how completely Spenser knew and observed a critical method.

The foregoing discussion of Spenser's diction is by no means offered as exhaustive; it is illustrative only. The effort has been

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to set forth the poet's true methods, the guiding principles and to approximate results.

Step by step it has been shown that Spenser followed the tenets of criticism: he restored ancient words, he drew from dialects, he borrowed from foreign tongues, he lengthened, contracted, combined, compounded and created words. In all these processes he has observed the moderation enjoined from Aristotle to Ronsard.[1]

Spenser was both an artist and an architect in diction. Ben Jonson was wrong when he said that Spenser "in affecting the Ancients writ no language." There has always existed a difference between a spoken and a literary language. Spenser has created, and that in strict accord with the teaching of his age, a literary diction adapted to his country and to his theme. His language is not the gallimaufry justly scorned by E. K. It is English and, moreover, largely the English of his day enriched from legitimate sources and by legitimate methods. His vocabulary is largely the vocabulary of his contemporaries.[2] His archaic and dialect forms belong to no specific age or section. They are garnered as a rightful national heritage. They color but do not obscure his diction. It should be steadfastly borne in mind that beside the older forms, the modern appear in far greater numbers, that many archaisms and dialect words appear but once.[3] The fact that they do so appear but witnesses the

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1.- Harvey, G.: Marginalia: Ed. Smith: p. 178. (On certain old words allowable.) "All theise in Spenser, & manie like: but with discretion: & tolerably, though sumtime not greatly commendably." p. 169. "Spenser hath reuiued, vncouth, whilom, of yore, for thy."
2.- A detailed comparison between the diction of Elyot's Gouvenour and of the Faerie Queene would prove enlightening. 3.- liveden, keight, lig, selcouth, stadle, sam(together), meny (group), nonce, handsell, wesand, seely (semple, 2; bren 2, herried 2.

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critical intent of the poet, the breadth of his knowledge and his powers of memory and assimilation.

E. K. tells us that the poet has found his words "used of most excellent authors and most famous poetes." This has been interpreted to mean Chaucer and at most Gower, Lydgate, and H'Occleve. The "excellent authors" must be extended to include the writers of the metrical romances, in which lore Spenser was steeped, and whose quaint phraseology lends a spirit of decorum to Spenser's own romance. Two words at least are familiar to me only in the romances; fewter,[1] to lay spear in rest, and bless,[2] in the sense of whirl or strike. Nor in seeking sources or authority must the spoken language be overlooked. Many words and forms eliminated from literary expression are preserved in the speech of today. This was more eminently true in Spenser's age. Spenser's apocryphal residence in the North was not his only opportunity for acquiring dialect. He was a native of London:

> "At length they all to mery London came,
> To mery London, my most kindly nurse
> That to me gave this lifes first native course.
> - Proth. 11, 127-129.

There he must have heard all dialects. Again, during his residence at Cambridge he must have become familiar with the speech of those Northmen and other provincials, which Puttenham condemned. To the quick ear of the poet all sounds were but variants of the grand diapason which echoed in his brain.

Spenser sought primarily a rich and musical medium for his great poem. The preeminent quality of his diction, when all is told, is its level musical tone. This quality is bound up with rhetorical figures; it is an intrinsic part of his versification and in connection with these matters must be studied. Robbed of

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1.- F.Q. IV, vi, 16, 2; IV,iv, 45, 8. 2 See O.F. blesser. N.E.D.

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its quaint and rich diction the Faerie Queene would lose half its other-world charm. For the art of the poet through the magic of his words has created a world in which of native right, his Elves and Fairies move. As the poet patiently builded the great monument which was to confer and commemorate his lasting fame, he wrought even better than he knew; for into the work went riches of words, pictures, and music which have been a heritage to his successors in the craft, and it is not without reason Lamb has called Spenser "the poet's poet."

It has been demonstrated that Spenser's language was no mere imitation of an earlier diction but a conscious artistic creation eminently suited to his theme. Into this creation went all the resources of the language, and all the critical devices for its enrichment. Almost one with the choice of diction is the method of expression. Here critical teaching centered upon the use of figures of speech. In the figures of traductio, pleonasm, and alliteration the study of diction and rhetorical expression becomes one, for they involve an artifice of both choice and arrangement. In turn the frequency of these figures exercises a distinct influence upon style.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance accorded to this division of rhetoric. Susceptible of endless division, subdivision, classification and elaboration, figures were plastic media in the hands of the critics when they sought to reduce to rule the details of composition. In the opportunity afforded by figures for imitation, for the display of learning, for securing variety, emphasizing decorum, and controlling style they make the strongest possible appeal to the critical temper of the age. Two currents of influence converge in the figures themselves, classic inheritance and

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the figurative language of popular material. The first is by far the stronger but the second is not insignificant.

The early teachings of the Greek and Alexandrian rhetors laid the foundation upon which later writers built. Quintillian devotes a large part of Books VIII and IX of his Institute to a discussion of figures, yet claimes to be more restrained in this respect than Cicero and many other learned men.[1] Scaliger gives a typical treatment of the subject with all the elaboration of which the Renaissance is capable.[2] He claims to be the first who fully explains the figures of diction.[3] His discussion is, of course, based upon the perfect and pointed by contrast with Homer. His work is a keen exposition of the analytic process through which principles were deduced and rules formulated for the production of subsequent literature. Trissino[4] follows Scaliger with an equally copious treatment of the subject. His minute and delicate classification of the figures of diction in the careful placing, balancing and repetition of words, reaches an extreme. Each slight change is dignified by a name, and these multiply in bewildering numbers. The transposition of a word for the sake of accent throws the poet into a figure; a repetition hurls him into another; he must write in figures whether he will or no.

The livelier Gallic temperament repudiated the drudgery of such detail.[5] We find among the French critics no such dreary catalogues as obscure the pages of Scaliger and Trissino. They cut their way more swiftly to the general prescription of a high style, dignified by elegant diction, and adorned with figures.

1.- Inst. B. IX, ch. II. 2.- Poet~~ices~~, Lib. III (1561). 3.- Ibid. C. 32, p. 121. 4.- Della Poetica: Div. 6. 5.- Here should be noted as an exception Jacques de la Taille's La Manière de faire des vers en francois comme en Grec, ~~en~~ Latin (1573), Ch. III.

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In the matter of figures the English drew upon classic sources before they felt the full tide of Italian influence. In England as elsewhere rhetoric was a standard branch of study. Sherry's Rhetoric (1550), Wilson's Arte of Rhetoric (1553) and Peacham's Garden of Eloquence (1577) are closer to Cicero and Quintillian than to more ordinary authors; while the Arcadian Rhetoric (1588) of Abraham Fraunce and Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie (1588) show distinct traces of Italian method.[1]

As often before in this thesis brevity of argument results in inadequacy to convey the sweeping extent and force of certain principle. The serious and universal acceptance of poetry as an art susceptible of reduction to rule was the basis of the canonical criticism of the Renaissance.

The elaboration of figures was no individual instance of pedagogic dullness; it was, as stated before, a central feature in literary art. A man was valued for his invention in proportion to his skill in figures. Puttenham excellently conveys this mechanical sense of art when he urges that there should be an art of English poesie as well as of the Greek and Latin.[2] E. K. hints at Spenser's

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1.- Puttenham devotes ten chapters (Bk. III, ch. XIX-XXVIII) to a conscientious elaboration of figures. Each Greek term is given an English connotation and is illustrated by example.

2.- Arte of English Poesie: Ch. II. "Then as there was no art in the world till by experience found out, so if Poesie be now an Art, & of al antiquitie hath bene among the Greeks and Latines, & yet were none vntill by studious persons fashioned and reduced into a method of rules and precepts, then no doubt may there be the like with vs. And if th Art of Poesie be but a skill appertaining to vtterance, why may not the same be with vs aswel as with them, our language being no lesse copious, pithie, and significatiue then theirs, our conceipts the same, and our wits no lesse apt to deuise and imitate then theirs were? If againe Art be but a certain order of rules prescribed by reason, and gathered by experience, why should not Poesie be a vulgar Art with vs as well as with the Greeks and Latines, our language admitting no fewer rules and nice diuersities than theirs? but peradventure more by a peculiar, which our speech hath in many things differing from theirs; and yet, in the generall points of that Art, allowed to go in common with them: so as if one point perchance, which is their feete whereupon their measures stand, and in deede is all

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use of figures when he notes his "wittinesse in devising, his pithinesse in uttering" and proposes to add a glosse lest "many excellent and proper devises, both in wordes and matter, would passe in the speedy course of reading as unknowen or unmarked."[1] Abraham Fraunce in his treatment of figures cites examples from Spenser.[2]

The selection of Spenser as an exemplar of rhetoric is no mean one.[3] Conscious art speaks not only in the choice of words, but in the arrangement, and in every figure. There is no rushing tide of spontaneity, the stream of his words has the artificial flow of his own silver fountains. The very type of figures which he favors most is of diction rather than of imagination. Of these his favorite, pleonasm, is the very daughter of artifice. Few indeed are the variations of repetition included in Puttenham or Trissino which are not to be found in Spenser. The function of pleonasm is the expression of emotion through emphasis and amplification. The variants of the figure are therefore more frequent in Spenser's lyrics than in the narrative Faerie Queene. But there too they are not lacking, and a new function is thrust upon them. Repetition, timely and untimely, is used to meet the exigencies of the Spenserian stanza, which is as

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1.- Letter to Harvey prefixed to F.Q. 2.- Fol. D. 7, "Ye wastfull woods, beare witnesse of my woe." S.C. Aug., fol. E. 3:
"Wrath ielousie, griefe loue, doo thus expell." -F.Q. II,IV.
This is of interest as cited before the publication of the F.Q. [Smith: Crit. Ess. V. 1, p. 305.] 3.- Thos. Nash: Pref, to Greene's Menaphon: "---should the challenge of deepe conceit be intruded by a forreiner to bring our english wits to the tutchstone of Arte, I would prefer diuine Master Spencer, the miracle of wit, to bandie line for line for my life in the honor of England, gainst Spaine, France, Italie, and all the worlde."

(Continued)
the beautie of their Poesie, and which feete we haue not, not a yet neuer went about to frame (the nature of our language and words not permitting it), we haue in stead thereof twentie other curious points in that skill more then they euer had, by reason of our rime and tunable concords or simphonie, which they neuer observed. Poesie therefore may be an Art in our vulgar, and that verie methodicall and commendable."

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exacting as a stage favorite. This point must be reserved for later discussion.

No attempt will be made here to enumerate, classify, or give examples of the various figures used by Spenser.[1] Such a task in proportion to the labor involved would add little to the theme, which is concerned rather with the nature, method and degree of use than with specific instance.

Anaphora is a favorite figure with Spenser. The stemming, lingering effect of this repetition of the first words of a line is peculiarly consonant with his general style, and with the stanzaic measure of the Faerie Queene. The thought is leisurely, centred on elaboration rather than progress, and this is the essence of anaphora. In the use of repetition within the line, ploche, Spenser is less happy, for the sense of filling in becomes too strong.

In amplification he is a past master, but the discussion of this as well as the figures of sound onomatopeia, traductic, epanalepsis, and harmony belongs rather to quality of style than to figures.

The greater part of the Faerie Queene was written whilst Euphuism swept England like an epidemic. Born two years after Spenser, Lyly entered Oxford the same year Spenser was admitted to Cambridge. Euphues or The Anatomy of Wit, was published in the same year as the Shepheardes Calendar. Both works alike lifted their authors into sudden prominence.[2] Both alike found imitators. The former as embodying a manner rather than a substance was more easily reproduced. In Euphues there was a crystallization, indeed a reductio ad absurdum, of stylish features which had existed for a long time, and which

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1.- For such tabulations see the excellent work of Miss King [Master's Thesis, University of Chicago.].
2.- For Spenser, see Early Fame of the Shepherd's Calendar: Prof. C. R. Baskervill.

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were particularly inherent in Spanish literature.[1] In no period save one delivered into the hands of rhetoricians, could have been possible such a situation as followed the production of Euphues. Euphuism became the language both of fashion and literature.[2] Greene and Lodge, the popular novelists of the day, turned out one book after another, in which the euphuistic language ran as in a mould.

It is an everlasting witness to Spenser's tree genius, and to the hold of Italian and French criticism upon him, that he did not yield to the prevailing fashinn. There are, it is true, many instances of balance and antithesis; much alliteration, even cross alliteration and, that other hall mark of Euphuism, unnatural natural philosophy appears. But in proportion to the vast bulk of his work the instances are few and the falseness and the strain of Euphuism does not color his style.

The animal simile as it appears in Spenser has stronger affiliations than Euphuism, and brings us to the consideration of a different class of figures, those of creative imagination.

His use of metaphor, metonymy, synechdoche is largely limited to conventional patterns and may be passed over lightly. These figures are polished, graceful, and well fitted to the context; they depend for their pleasing quality upon the artistic skill of the writer and a certain charm of familiarity, rather than upon originality or vividness.

The least vivid of this type, simile, is clearly Spenser's favorite. The possibilities which it offers for more deliberate thought and elaboration are suited to his style and temperament. An encyclopaedia learning places at easy command an endless variety of

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1.- V. Montemaior's Diane. 2.- "All our Ladies were then his Scholler. And that Beautie in court which could not Parley Euphuisme, was so little regarded; as she which now there speakes not French.": E. Blount (1588-1632), Lyly's Six Court Comedies: Ep. to Reader (1632).

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associations.

His use of classic simile is notable. One is almost tempted to say the classics had become with him, as later with Ben Jonson, a mode of thought. Figures drawn from mythology and the classics show a ~~more fluent use~~ than do any others. Nor are these references confined to the more familiar facts and authors; they include abstruse allusions which are to be verified only with difficulty.[1] This facile and pervasive use of classic figure adds to the atmospheric charm created in the Faerie Queene by the readiness with which the smoothly gliding scenes shift from the world of mythology, peopled with familiar forms, to Spenser's own quaint world of Faery. In this ease of insensible metamorphosis the poet has achieved with rare skill, one of the most elusive qualities of Homer and Vergil. For only in the classic epics and the Faerie Queene, is this transition of worlds a matter of artistic verisimilitude. In the attainment of such an effect no mean part must be assigned to Spenser's fluent use of classic simile, which keeps us in constant touch with the world of mythology.

Animal simile presents another phase of classic influence,[2] but this is linked with other influences. In rare instances Spenser's knowledge of the mediaeval bestiaries is evident, but commonly the figures deal with characteristic and not fabled qualities of the animal in question. The bear, the boar, the bull, the lion, the tiger, and the ram figure as illustrative of Spenser's combatants. This particular class of figures is largely taken over from the mediaeval romances, where they hold the same function as in Spenser and are probably reminiscent of Homer. How direct or close this relationship may be is not the present problem. It is certain that in

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1.-Tryfon filius Nili Mercurii" is to be found twice in Boccaccio's Genealogy of the Gods. Mercurius Trismegistus was the Latin name of the Egyptian god Thoth, who was a god of medicine. Spenser writes: "For Tryphon of sea-gods the sovereign leach is hight." Evidence

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in Spenser not only this group but other animal similes take on renewed Homeric color, in the conscious elaboration which develops each into a complete picture.

Homeric simile, however, does not consist simply in extended comparison drawn from nature. It has the distinctive quality conferred by genius. There is but one point of contace between the theme and the illustration. This Homer strikes with the white light of intensity. A comparison presents itself. Carried away by suggestion he creates from this ~~in~~ a picture in which every detail is made to converge to the one quality in question--strength, wrath, despair, bewildered terror. The psychology is suspense, but swift suspense, the feint before the attack. "Like a lion," writes Homer and visualization drives him on-- "a ravaging lion whom men desire to slay, a whole tribe assembled: and first he goes his way unheeding, but when some warrior youth hath smitten him with a spear, then he gathereth himself open-mouthed, and foam cometh forth about his teeth,-- and his stout spirit groaneth in his heart, and with his tail he scourgeth either side his ribs and flanks, and goadeth himself on to fight, and glaring is borne straight on them by his passion..... thus was Achilles driven by his passion and valiant spirit to go forth."[1] Here no succession of parallels is sought between Achilles and the lion. The picture in itself is as complete and as distinct from its setting as a cameo. The artist has energized but one emotion, sullen and undaunted rage, that craves only vengeance; this it was which drove Achilles forth to seek vengeance for the death of Patroclus.

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1. Ib. XX, l. 167 sq. See Trans. of

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for the office of Tryphon (III,IV,43,9) is lacking, but the association is worthy of record. Moreover Tryphon appears several times as the name of noted physicians.
2.- V. supra p.

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This peculiar type of simile was developed in recitative, where the bard struck, as it were, a resounding note, to the echoing strains of which he played a minor chord, while his audience waited breathless for the resumption of the theme. The transferrence to the printed page, eliminates the magnetic personality of the narrator, and it is not only in the hands of a skilled artist that Homeric simile remains a motif of suspense, rather than a digression.

Spenser's intuitive perception was not of the keen temper to seize upon this vital point. The use of extended comparisons drawn from nature and the subjects of comparison he borrowed.[1] He also developed something of the ut pictura poesis found elsewhere in his work, but the vitalizing of the picture to the pitch of a dominant note was beyond him. His similes are carefully developed in a succession of parallels.[2] He thus described the cautious retreat and advance of a trained knight in battle with an adversary of rude strength:

> "Like as a mastiffe, having at a bay
> A salvage bull, whose cruell hornes doe threat,
> Desperate daunger, if he them assay
> Traceth his ground, and round about doth beat,
> To spy where he may some advantage get,
> The whiles the beast doth rage and loudly rore,
> So did the squire, the while the earle did fret."
> -F.Q. VI,VII,47.

There is parallelism in every movement; the figure is clear and well sustained but no galvanic spark of interest is generated by the meeting of opposite poles.

1.- Cf. Iliad: Bk. III, l. 22 sq.; Bk. IV, l. 420 sq.; Bk. V, l. 134 sq.; Bk. XIII, l. 193 sq.; l. 471 sq.; Bk. XV, l. 618 sq.; l. 625sq.; l. 645 sq.; l. 690 sq.; Bk. XVI, l. 758 sq.; Bk. XVII, l. 63 sq.; l. 281 sq.; Odyssey: Bk. IV, l. 335 sq.; Bk. VI, l. 132 sq.
2.- F.Q. VI,V, 19; I,ii,16; II,V,10; II,ii,22; V,IV,42; I,VI,10; I,XI,1.

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Although Spenser's use of simile is, in the main, an attempt at Homeric manner, and although he misses the centralized force of the Greek poet; yet his figures are not, on that account, to be condemned as bad. Relieved of comparison with Homer, they are well chosen, imaginative and in their elaboration admirably adapted to the leisurely movement of the Faerie Queene, which in unhastened splendor and in stately measure moves toward an unseen goal.

The endless variety and multiplicity of figures in Spenser insensibly draws the student on to analytical discussion. Such a temptation must be resisted. The classes touched upon here have been chosen with a view to developing a background for a more general discussion of Spenser's style. A minute analysis of his work reveals a knowledge and conscious use of almost every rhetorical device known to the age as well as the appropriation of stylistic features peculiar to other writers. In the midst of all this Spenser preserves an Aristotelian mean. The restraint of genius is his. Profusion and intricacy exist but not excess. His figures of diction bear the stamp of rhetoric art, yet even his rhetoric is endued with a quaint grace which preserves it from banality. His figures of comparison bear the impress of profound resources rather than of originality; they are contemplative rather than inspirational. There is little use of fixed or sounding epithet. No masterful Diomedes of the loud war-cry stands out from his pages. No sudden metaphor surprises and delights. All bears the traces of deliberation. Delicacy of detail supplies the imaginative quality. Everywhere the quality of art dominates the freedom and vigor of a more unstudied expression. Hence in minor as well as major matters Spenser's work seeks to conform with the critical tenets of his age.

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Close to the study of words and expression lies the consideration of Spenserian stanza.

If Spenser's restraint in rhetoric in an age dominated by artificial form is witness to his genius, it is an even greater tribute to that same genius that, in an age led astray by classic tradition, with his own strong critical bias, and as a member of a group pledged to the fallacy, he resisted the learned lure of Latin measures.

The establishment of classic metres in the vernacular was one of the stock problems of the Renaissance. The example of the Romans in this as in other matters formed a strong argument. By labor and usage they had reduced their uncouth language to the laws of Greek metric. They had created a literature which, in the eyes of the Renaissance excelled that of their masters. The inference is clear.

The Italians fenced lightly with the problem and dismissed it. They had the peculiar advantage of possessing; prior to the complete critical recrudescence of the classics, three writers of world renowned genius, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and a well developed literature in the vernacular. Fortified by this inheritance they met the issue.

Dati[1] and Alberti[2] sought with indifferent success to reconcile Latin quantity with the vernacular.[3] Poliziano, one of the strongest of early classicists, wrote his Silvae (1482-86) and translated the Iliad in Latin hexameters. He is better known and remembered

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1.- Certame Coronario (1441) contains an Ital. poem in hexameter verse by L. Dati, Scena dell'Amicizia. 2.- V. Lit. Crit. in Ren.: p. 221: Spingarn states through Carduccio and Vasari, that an epistle of Alberti was the first attempt to render classic metre in the vernacular. 3.- Flamini: Storia Litt. Ital., V. II, p. 191.

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for his Stanze written in ottava rima. Claudio Tolomei[1] and his followers,[2] most noted among whom was Annibal Caro, made a serious attempt to mould the new poetry in classic form, and to establish an Italian prosody analagous to the Latin. They formed the Accedemia della Nuova Poesia, and Caro in an apostrophe addressed to his fellow academicians urges:

> "Or cantate meco, cantate or ch'altro risorge
> Parnaso, ch'altro nuovo Elicona s'apre--."

Tolomei gives in his work examples of metrical composition in the vernacular.[3] Somewhat later and more ambitious efforts are the comedy of Alemanni in classic metre, and the heroic poem Eridano of Patrizzi written in hexameter. Scaliger devotes the whole fourth book of his Poetices to a discussion of feet, metre, and rhythm. There is small doubt that his treatise exerted much influence upon Tolomei and his school, but the critic makes no conjunction between his classic interests and the problem of the vernacular. To Trissino is assigned the disputed honor of the invention of versi sciolti.[4] This is, in Italian as the corresponding blank verse in English, the nearest approach in modern prosody to classic hexameter. It is, as also recognized in English, admirably adapted to translation.[5]

In reversal of the classic theory Daniello[6] takes up the question of what form of verse should be used if an heroic poem is to be written in the vernacular. He acknowledges the peculiar fit-

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1.- His Versi e Regole de la Nuova Poesia Toscana (1539) embraces a systematic treatment of the use of classic metres in Italian. (Flamini: Storia Letteraria d'Italia, p. 191)
2.- Flamini cites as Caro's co-workers: Antonio Renieri da Colle, Pier Paola Gualterio aretino, Giovanni Zuccarelli da Canipina, Dionigi Atanagi da Cagli Trifone Benzi d'Assisi, and others.
3.- A more complete collection is to be found in Carducci.
4.- Flamini: Op. cit. p. 191. D'Ancona-Bacci: V. II. 5.- It was used by Caro in his trans. of the Aeneid, and by many others in the second half of the 16th C. 6.- Della Poetica (1536), pp. 131-133.

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ness of the Latin language for epic composition; he declared Vergil "il grandissimo di tutti i Poeti," who have sung of arms and heroes. But, if the poet is to treat of heroic matter in the vulgar tongue, it is to be done best in interlinked verses of three eleven syllabled lines, as used and taught by Dante and Petrarch. Varchi, Dolce, and Muzio openly condemned the attempted reforms of Tolomei and his Academy.[1]

Trissino, with grudging emphasis, it is true, admits the universal acceptance of rhyme, and the necessity of including a discussion of it in his Arte Poetica. He then proceeds to a complete and valuable exposition of modern versification.[2] All the popular genres of Italy are included, and the overlapping of some forms is indicated. The possible variants of the terza rima are made the subject of special study. Minturno neatly parries the issue. He recognizes restraint and order as an intrinsic quality of heroic verse and hexameter as the accepted metre.[3] But he adds: "it follows that where time is observed there also harmony is to be considered-," and "there is no doubt but that in rhymes which answer to each other with sweetest consent harmony appears more clearly than in a verse, simple, bare, and deprived of agreement."[4] Bernardo Tasso frankly avows that hexameter is incompatible with the genius of the Italian language. Torquato follows his father in recognizing the innate difference of the languages, and finds the Italian as little adapted by nature to quantity as the Latin to rhyme. He contrasts the respective merits of ottava and terza rima, and decrees that the latter possesses greater uniformity, dignity and stability, and is, therefore, better adapted to the lofty utterances and elaborate

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1.- Fiamini: Op. Cit. p. 191. 2.- Della Poetica: Bks. I-IV.
3.- L'Arte Poetica: Bk. I, pp. 3-4. 4.- Ibid. pp. 13-14.

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ornament of the heroic poem.[1] Paola Beni writes of the metre of the Greeks that when executed with perfect art "it fills the ear with sweetness and marvellously delights the mind"; but lacking such art it becomes an incredible offense, and at present, he concludes, it is impossible to imitate the style without grave offense.

There is no need to echo further the views of critics. The great Italian epics stand as a monument to the national taste. The harmony, rhythm, and rhyme of the verse attest the true metier of the language.

Although the grave consideration of classic metre proved void in its effort to reinstate quantitative measure, it was not without far-reaching influence. Through it was promoted an earnest study of prosody which brought rich results in art and refinement. A spirit of experiment and freedom was fostered which broke the very chains classicism sought to fix and gave rise to endless invention and variety.

The experiments of Italy were repeated in England and France.

Vauquelin lightly sums up the situation in the latter country. He writes his L'Art Poetique in alexandrines and tells us half humorously that there are some brave spirits which seek to arrange the French measure after the Latin quantity, and to make the words march in feet; ~~and~~ he cites the classic experiments of Tontain, Baif, Pontan, Second, Flamini and Marulle, but--

> "Ie ne scay si ces vers auront authorité,
> C'est a toy d'en parler sage Posterité
> Qui sans affection peux iuger toutes choses,
> Et qui sans peur les prendres ou reieter les oses."
> (ll. 833-857.)

The matter had, however, been taken more seriously by some

1.-Del Poema Eroico, p. 265 sq.

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of his predecessors in criticism. Michele de Bouteauville,[1] the earliest writer in the subject, supported the theory of his Art de metrifier françois, by a poem written in classic couplets. Luigi Alemanni, claimed by both France and Italy, whose comedy Flora, written in classic metre, has already been cited, published his famous Opere Toscane at Lyons in 1532. This was in blank verse. La Coltivazione, a classic imitation written in classic measure, appeared at Paris in 1546. Other works followed. Men more noted for learning than for literature lent the weight of their authority to classic forms. Ramus, in his Grammar (1562), regrets the indifference of the public to the superiority of classic metre. Henry Estienne published his Traité de la conformite du langage françois avec le grec, before 1566. Estienne Pasquier in his Recherches de la France[2] pronounces the form of Latin verse superior to rhyme, and the French language capable of receiving quantitative measure. La Manière de faire des vers en francois comme en grec et en Latin by Jacques de la Taille[3] signalizes a more optimistic and organized effort on the part of some of the younger members of the Pleiade. The author hopes by the very difficulty of the form to eliminate many of the rhymesters who had brought poetry into general disrepute. In this he echoes Du Bellaq. Even more direct and notable were the efforts of Jean Antoine de Baif. Under strong Italian influence he sought a rehabilitation of classic metres and a reconciliation with musical prosody. In imitation of Tolomei[4] he established the Academie de Poésie et de Musique. Baif and his followers composed the group gently satirized by Vauquelin. To the names

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1.- C. 1500. 2.- L. VII, c.ii. 3.- Pub. in 1573. Probably written a decade earlier. 4.- V. supra. Accademia della Nuova Poesia.

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cited by him should be added those of Jodelle and Bertet as champions of metre.

The foregoing summarizes the defendants of quantitative measure. Did space permit, many translations and dramas could be cited as example of classic experiment. These remain, however, subjects of critical curiosity rather than parts of a national literature. By the greater French critics the movement was opposed, or at least a conservative attitude was observed toward it. Fabri defined rhythm as measured language, but denounced as fools those who think they can increase or diminish the length of a syllable at pleasure.[1] Sebillét opposed the innovation. He distinctly declares that French verse is not limited to a certain number of feet, nor measured by the space of long and short as is the Greek and Latin, but is measured by syllables only. He classifies the French octosyllabic line as equivalent to the Latin elegiac, the decasyllable to the heroic, the Alexandrine as suited to matters of weighty discussion.[2] In the preface to his Iphegénie he states that he has rendered the Greek trochaics in Alexandrines, and the iambic trimeter in heroics, that is, in decasyllables. The attitude of Du Bellay toward quantity is one of complaisance rather than advocacy. He states that rhyme is among the French "ce qu'est la quantite aux les Grecs et Latins," and that although the French have the usage of feet, yet it is by the number of syllables in each poetic genre, that their poesy is bound as by a chain. He urges the necessity of discrimination and art in the use of rhyme and concludes: "If there is one who is

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1.- Grand et vrai Art de pleine Rhétorique (1521) c.V, pp. 1-3. Note: In justice to these apostles of classic metre it should be stated they understood something of the principles of iambic shortening and the substitution of a pyrrhic sequence. Unfortunately they were induced by the non-pliable nature of their material to push these devices to an extent which brought both poet and poetry into contempt. 2.- Art Poétique Francoys, C.V., p. 1 sq.

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unwilling to regulate his rhythm as I have said, he would do far better not to rhyme but to make free verse (des vers libres), as did Petrarch in some degree, and as of our own time did Signor Loys Aleman in his not less learned than delightful Agriculture." But he further adds that just as artists must exercise more labor and skill to render beautiful the nude than the clothed figure, so those who write in metre must clothe their verse in flesh and sinew to compensate the default of rhyme[1] De Laudun follows Du Bellay.[2] For Ronsard the Alexandrines "hold the place in our language of the heroic among the Greeks and Latins."[3] In the preface of his Franciade written in decasyllabic verse, he retracts his youthful views, and pronounces the alexandrine enervated, flaccid, and better adapted to translation than to heroic composition. His apostacy had little effect upon the supremacy of the alexandrine, known in French literature for four centuries,[4] but disregarded by Marot and his school as possibly too heavy for their themes, in the 16th century the alexandrine proved its affinity to the Latin hexameter and assumed its true place in French literature, a place which it held well into the 18th century.

In England the situation of Italy and France was reproduced. A few men more learned than poetic insisted upon the superiority of quantitative measure. A few young enthusiasts sought through the revival of classic metre to lift the national literature to the heights of Greece and Rome, and themselves above the class of ragged rhymesters, who crowded the ranks of Elizabethan poets. There was

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1.- Defence et l'Illustration: L. II, c. VII. 2.-L'Art P--.: c.v, p. 79 sq. 3.-L'Abrégé: p. 329. 4.- Ruteboeuf (1245-1285) made use of the alexandrine in his two satires upon the government of Philippe le hardi, and in other works.

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even a society, embryonic, idealistic, and ineffective which had as its objective the restoration of classic measures.

The myth of the Areopagus as a formal literary organization, emulating the Pleiade has been destroyed.[1] But in the letters of Harvey and Spenser, given to the public within a year of their composition there is indisputable evidence of a group of men strongly intefested in the adaptation of the English language to Latin prosody. It is possible that the name Areopagus may have been applied in a spirit of pedantic humor. There is no evidence of this, however, in the first allusion made to the club by Spenser.[2] The fact that the title assumes its inflection is fully explained by the use of Greek characters, and this in turn is in full accordance with common practice. Spenser states that Harvey's verse once or twice makes "a breache in Maister Draut's rules," but he promises to impart the iambics to "Maister Sidney and Maister Dyer at my nexte going to the Courte." He requests that his own may be kept close except for Harvey's "verie entire frends Maister Preston, Maister Still and the reste." Thus in Cambridge we have the group Harvey, Preston, Still, "and the reste"; in London there are Sidney, Dyer, Spenser, and the organized rules if not the of Archbishop Drant. The Areopagus, in which Spenser says Sidney and Dyer have

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1.- Prof. Maynardier: The Areopagus of Sidney and Spenser: Mod. Lang. Rev., Vol. IV, pp. 289-301 (1909). 2.- He writes Harvey (Leycester House,- Oct., 1579) of the "twoo worthy gentlemen, Master Sidney and Master Dyer, who "have me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity." He assures Harvey of his loyalty toward him in conversation with these patrons of literature; then adds: "And nowe they have proclaimed in their ἀρειωπαγω a generall surceasing and silence of balde rymers, and also of the verie beste to: insteade whereof, they have, by authoritie of their whole senate, prescribed certaine lawes and rules of quantities of English sillables for English verse, having had thereof already great practise and drawen mee to their faction." It is also worthy of note that this passage is quoted by Harvey in another letter of his so-called Letter-Book.

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proclaimed "a general surceasing and silence of balde Rymers," and have "prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quanties of English syllables for English Verse." ... "by the authoritie of their whole Senate" must indicate some organization however embryonic, which centres around Sidney. And since all the interest and activity of this organization is centred in metrical reform,[1] it may be logically paralleled with the Accademia della Nuova Poesia of Tolomei, and with the Académie de Poésie et de Musique of Antoine de Baïf. For both of those institutions had their inception in the personality and intellectual activity of one man, and their function was the restoration of quantitative measure.

The absence of further record of the organization presents no cause for wonder when compared with similar lacunae or disappearances. Neither Drant's Rules nor Spenser's English Poet are known to us, although they once existed. In the case of the Areopagus there are several feasible explanations. First, is the well known Renaissance attitude toward professional authorship. Literature was the accomplishment not the profession of a gentleman. Sidney preserved this attitude in refusing the publication of his works, except the sonnets, which were an accepted feature of courtly accomplishment; and in the half ironical tone of the Defense of Poesy, where he refers to himself as a "paper-blurrer." The theories of quantitative verse were themselves a hybrid of learning and criticism which produced no fruit worthy of preservation, if we may judge by the fragments left us. In Sidney's growing importance in the world of politics, and in Spenser's departure for Ireland may be read another reasons for discontinuance of the group. In the genius of the latter which could

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1.- See the further letters of Spenser and Harvey.

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he neither coerced nor concealed, and in his determination to write his epic in his own way there exists another counter to classic theorists. And last, although there was, as we shall see, some support elsewhere, the theory of quantity was so at variance with the ~~phraseology~~ in process of creation, that the matter was probably dismissed as the vaporing of youthful enthusiasms.

Ascham includes in his section Imitatio[1] a disquisition against rhyme and in favor of classic metres. He draws the authority of Cheke and Watson to the support of his views.[2] He points out some of the specific difficulties in metric composition, which are inherent in the language, but declares the vulgar tongue is perfectly adapted to iambic structure. The views of Gabriel Harvey are set forth in his letters and in his own compositions. Stonyhurst[3] discusses classic metre as a preface to his translation of the Aeneid. He advocates varying syllable length to meet the requirements of quantity. Puttenham[4] temporizes shamelessly with the question. His sympathies are with the new versifying, yet he dares not commit himself. The introduction to the subject defines his attitude: "How if all manner of sodaine innovations were not very scandalous, specially in the lawes of any langage or arte, the vse of the Greeks and Latins feete might be brought into our vulgar poesie, and with good grace inough." He devotes five chapters to the discussion but states that "it be somewhat too late to admit a new inuention of feete and times that our forefathers neuer vsed nor neuer obserued till this day," and that he has treated the matter, not "to th' intent to haue it put in execution in our vulgar Poesie, but to be pleasantly scanned upon, as are all nouelties so friuolous and ridiculous

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1.- Schoolmaster: pp. 132-180. 2.- Polydore Vergil: (I,viii,16a) De Inventione includes A Songe of Exameter Verses (1546) N.E.D.
3.- Too Thee Learned Reader. 4.- The Arte of English Poesie (1589) Ch. 13-17.

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as it." The fallacy culminated in England with Webbe,[1] who, like Ascham, is sincerely persuaded that had classic metres been in use among the English poets and continually polished by them "according to their several gifts, they would long ere this haue aspyred to as full perfection as in anie other tongue whatsoever. Webbe's earnestness and his fallacy are equally attested by his famous quantitative renditions of Spenser's first, second, and fourth eclogues. Campion's Obseruations on the Arte of English Poesie (1602) is the most practical manual of quantitative verse left to us; this, however, comes too late to affect the present discussion and is cited merely as evidence of the extent to which the experiment was pushed.

Neither translations, the experiments of critics nor the occasional poems which found expression in weighty numbers have been included in the foregoing summary; hence it insufficiently demonstrates the breadth of the movement. Nor has it been intended to imply that metric experiment was wholly centred in quantitative measure. The purpose has been to show through this the chief problem, the experimental stage of metre, and especially to demonstrate that literary forms and theories were common among nations.

The attempt to fix quantitative measure upon the growing vernacular proved abortive in its primary intention. At this lapse of time such an effort savors rather of the ludicrous than the serious. The crude examples of verse, achieved with such painstaking inspire laughter instead of respect. Yet the actual results of the movement are worthy of profound respect and consideration.

No one phase of Renaissance criticism is more genuinely characteristic of the age than is this. Its inception lies in the

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1.- A Discourse of English Poetrie (1586).

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profound respect for the authority of the classics. Its impulse rests upon the unbounded energy and ambition of the age, which acknowledged neither height nor distance beyond attainment. The same spirit of discovery which animated adventure by land and sea directed experiment in literature. In the outcome of this experiment the aims were diverted rather than defeated. Columbus sought India and found America. His expedition has never been termed unsuccessful.

If the study of classic metres failed to reinstate syllabic quantities, it nevertheless led to a truer valuation of both syllables and accent. The caesura became a point of art rather than accident. Rhythm came to be understood as a quality independent of mere rhyme. Men learned that the true genius of the language lay in syllabic numbers and accent to which rhyme was a musical addition. The study of the classics taught art, but art on simpler broader lines. Petty artificialities of form sank to insignificance. Poetry donned a robe of new dignity and moved with measured tread.

The revival of classic study in the Renaissance exercised enormous influence upon literature, both in matter and form; the specific study of quantities carried a classic quality into detail. The groups of extreme classicists and romanticists exercised a salutary restraint each upon the other. The complete success of the former would have cast modern literature into a marble mould; the unrestrained freedom of the latter would have submerged form in color. The classic movement existed as we have seen in Italy, France, and England. Neither side won. The aim of the classicists was diverted from subjugation to guidance. The result was a union of harmony and form. Restraint eliminated the artificialities which were bred in meticulous cleverness. But the sense of assured freedom

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and the consciousness of something yet to be attained led to endless experiment and combination in verse form, the results of which passed beyond the limits of the Renaissance into a timeless inheritance.

In England Spenser and Sidney were among the first to assimilate the outcome of the struggle. Sidney had been in all probability the central figure of the Areopagus, yet a few years later he writes simply:[1] "Now of versifying there are two sorts, the one ancient, the other modern. The ancient marked the quantity of each syllable, and according to that framed his verse; the modern observing only number with some regard of the accent, the chief delight of it standeth in like sounding of the words, which we call rime. Whether of these be the more excellent would bear many speeches; the ancient no doubt more fit for music, both words and tune observing quantity; and more fit lively to express passions by the low or lofty sound of the well-weighed syllable. The latter likewise with his rime striketh a certain music to the ear; and in fine, since it doth delight, though by another way, it obtaineth the same purpose; there being in either sweetness, and wanting in neither, majesty." The regularity, polish and grace of his own verse, attest Sidney's classic training and taste.

Spenser must have come to his task of writing the Faerie Queene with a sense of freedom from bondage.[2] The learned claims of classic metre had been met, and found to be but long shadows of the past. His critical interest as displayed in the experimental metres of the Shepherd's Calendar has been discarded. Further experimentation gave an easy command of verse form, as illustrated by the shift

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1.- Def. of Poesy: p. 2.- This is said advisedly. The part of the Faerie Queene submitted to Harvey must have been fragmentary, possibly experimental both in matter and form. At any rate his convictions must have crystallized under the debates of the Areopagus.

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from the original form of the poems of Van der Noodt's Theatre. The responsibility of a final selection of verse form for his epic must have followed close upon or been contemporary with the discussions of the Areopagus. Spenser was a critic and a scholar to whom the litertures of the world were an open book. The essence of his critical theory was a combination of imitated forms into a new creation, and upon the basis of this theory we must study his epic stanza.

Until an exact prototype be found for Spenser's stanza all such discussion must remain within the field of hypothesis. Therefore, let it be distinctly understood that the following discussion is not offered as definitive proof, but as, at least in the opinion of the writer, a reasonable hypothesis of ~~logical~~ processes.

The Spenserian stanza has been popularly considered the poet's great contribution to English literature. It is his most obvious but possibly not his greatest gift. Several theories have been offered as to the processes of its construction. The rime royal, the ottava rima,[1] and the stanza of Chaucer's Monk's Tale,[2] a double quatrain with interlinked rhyme, may any one form a basis of the structure. Of the last Tyrwhitt has written, "Chaucer's stanza of eight verses, with the addition of an Alexandrine, is the Stanza in which Spenser has composed his Faery Queen."[3] This theory

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1.- John Hughes: Ed. Spenser (1715) ; Warton: Ob. on the F. Q.: pp. 157-58. ; James Russell Lowell, Essay on Spenser: Works: V. IV, pp. 328-329. (Grosart's Ed. of Spenser)

2.- This stanza is fairly common among earlier writers: Lydgate's Envoy: Don't despise your Neighbor; Sir Richard Ros' translation of Alain Chartier's La Belle Dame sans Merci; Chaucer: L'Envoy de Chaucer à Bulston, Ballade de Vilage sauns Peynture; Envoy to Compleynt of a Lover's Lyfe.

3.- Ed. of Chaucer, London, 1778; V. IV, An Essay upon his Language and Versification, p. 87 note.

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has been endorsed by recent authority.[1] The analysis is simple, completely possible, and highly plausible. The more so that the employment of the alexandrine as the closing line of a stanza was no innovation.[2] Among the adulatory poems addressed to Elizabeth during the famed festivities of Kenilworth, was one of welcome spoken by the Lady of the Lake. The poem consists of seven stanzas composed of a quatrain and a couplet, of which the last line is an alexandrine. "These verses were devised and penned by M. Ferrers - sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court.": so runs the editor's comment in a pamphlet issued shortly afterward in response to the popular demand for an account of the gorgeous pageantry, and the "inventions" which employed the best wits of the time. It could only be by rare chance that this poem could escape the knowledge of Spenser. Four years later we first hear of the Faerie Queene.

The alexandrine was well known in England although not common.[3]

1.- Prof. R. E. N. Dodge: (Ed. of Spenser, 1908) Intro. F. Q., p. 135. "In defect, then, of satisfactory models, he was driven to invention. He knew, in Chaucer and Lyndesey, a fine, sonorous old stanza in eight verses, built of two quatrains linked by rhyme. Such linking by rhyme was familiar to him from Marot as well, and he had practised the art in the Calendar. He had also there experimented with the alexandrine..... For his Faery Queene, therefore he merely added to the old stanza that he knew a final alexandrine, and by that simplest combination transfigured them both."

2.- The Princelye Pleasures at the Courte at Kenelwoorth (1576): Reprinted, London, 1821: pp. 2-3. Address of welcome.

"I am the lady of this pleasant Lake
Who since the time of great King Arthure's reigne
(That here with royal Court aboade did make)
Have led a lowring life in restles paine;
Till now, that this your third arrival here
Doth cause me come abróad, and boldly thus appeare."
Stanza 2, p. 3.

The above stanza of six lines, of course presents no parallel to Spenserian stanza, save in the device of extending the last line to an Alexandrine.

3.- It was introduced into England early in the 13th century. The accent was by no means so regular as in French. In consequence it was confounded with the senarii, and used as an alternate with the septenarii. This combination was designated Poulter's Measure by Geo. Gascoign: Certayne Notes of Instruction, p. 56 (1575). For instances in early literature see: Schiffer: Englische Metrik: V. 1; Morris, Richard, Old Eng. Misc. E.E.T.S.,

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The difference in tone quality between the French and English languages, made the almost ideal line in the former, a ponderous measure in the latter. Nevertheless the rhythmic and resonant harmony was evident. The weight was emphasized in continuous composition,[1] hence the function of the alexandrine became that of a variant,[2] whose pendulum swing gave an echoing harmony. It was in this character Spenser first used the measure in the November Eclogue of the Shepheard's Calendar, and wrote in sounding phrase:

"Up, then Melpomene! the mournful Muse of nyne."

With such literary antecedents, it is clear that the structure of the Spenserian stanza from English elements is an entirely possible process, and that the acceptance of the measure as made up of the linked quatrains of Chaucer and an alexandrine is on the surface natural and logical.

To this conclusion there can be opposed two objections, and these, to some, would appear intangible. They are the inherent unity[3] of Spenser's verse, and the utter dissimilarity in poetic quality between it and the Chaucerian quatrain. The first only is to be

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1.- Drayton's Polyolbion illustrates this fact. 2.- The ballads, in very early forms, show a tendency to vary their measure with a longer line. The Merchant's Daughter of Bristow has in the second line a fairly well developed and regular form of the alexandrine. Roxburghe Ballads, (Ed. Collier:) 1847, p. 104 sq. The date of this ballad is uncertain. The editor says it was written considerably before James I came to the throne. 3.- Warton gives the source of Spenser's stanza as ottava rima with an additional line, and considers it was adopted from Ariosto and Tasso. He adds a note which seems to verge upon the theory of compound origin advanced above. (*Note p. 158) "See example of the Provencal poets in Petrarch. Spenser forms a compound of many of these."

V. 46; Guest, Hist. of Eng. Rhythms, C. VII; ten Brink: Eng. Lit., V. I, p. 274; Alden, Eng. Verse, pp. 252, 254. Wyatt, Surrey, and Sidney made limited use of the measure.

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considered here.

There is a structural quality in Spenser's verse which proclaims it a unit, and not a structure of two divisions with a lean-to at the end. One and indivisible are the nine lines of his verse. And as an adjunct to this objection it may be stated, the very simplicity and reasonableness involved in the accepted theory of structure is no argument in regard to the stanza forms of the Renaissance. Rather the axiomatic phrase "the more difficult reading" is applicable here.

When Spenser sought a medium for his epic, he had as authoritative antecedent possibilities the classic hexameter, the alexandrine of the French, the terza rima of Dante,[1] the ottava rima of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, and the decasyllabic heroic line of his own country. The term invention as applied to metric experiment is inexact; the process is one of modification. His declared models were Chaucer, Homer, Vergil, Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso. The first had left no distinctively epic poem to excite imitation. Spenser's genius for melody saved him from quantitative abortions. The popularity of the Orlando and of the Gerusalemme Liberata easily determined a stanzaic form for the epic which was to "overgo" them all. But the use of the ottava rima would have been too patent an imitation in an age which cried out for novelty or invention. Dante alone was left as a master. Hence the terza rima of the Italian, the alexandrine of the French, and the decasyllabic heroic line of England, all three accepted as standard heroic measures in their respective countries, seem to have undergone a transmutation in the hands of Spenser and to have been fused in the stanza which bears his name.

1.- Trissino wrote his Italia Liberata in versi sciolti but retained the [illegible]

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The strongest suggestive influence in the composition of the Spenserian stanza is the terza rima of Dante. Secondary to this in only a degree is the Italian nine line stanza best exemplified in the madrigal, and last come crystallizing native influences in the use of the decasyllabic line and the alexandrine.[1] The first step in such an argument is to expand that conception of terza rima which limits it to a metre of terzains in which the second line sets the rhyme for the first and third line of the succeeding terzain. This, as the rhyme scheme of Dante, constitutes a standard or norm, but a thousand examples in Italian literature attest the freedom and variety of the terza rima rhymes and linkage. Minturno devotes a section[2] to the variations of which the tercetti are susceptible and endeavor to give every possible combination. There are three general schemes,[3] that used by Dante and noted above, the second, which in some combination presents rhyme within the terzain, and the third which gives no internal rhyme, but rhyme linkage between the tercets. The last however almost invariably resolves itself into final groups with concluding couplets.[4] Not only combination and variation of the terza rima permitted, but a keen perception of its harmonic possibilities, made such modulation an eagerly sought feature of art.[5]

1.- Harvey: Marginalia (Smith), p. 168, "ye difference of ye last verse from the rest in euerie Stanza, a grace in ye Faerie Queen. An errour [if an error] in sum few Eclogues of Sir Philip Sidney." 2.- L'Arte Poetica: Bk. III, p. 254 sq.; V. Trissino: Della Poetica: Divisions: II, III, and IV. 3.- (i) aba, bcb, cdc, etc.; (ii) aba, bbc, cdd, etc.; (iii) abc,abc,cde,dff. Firenzuola, A., I Ragiomenti, pp. 292-295. 4.-Dante: De Vulgario Eloquio: Bk. II, CXIII. "With regard to the arrangement of the rhymes, according as they are in the fronte or coda, every wished-for licence, it seems, should be conceded; but still the endings of the last lines are most beautifully disposed if they fall with a rhyme into silence." 5.-Firenzuola: Op. cit. p. 285: The author advocates innovations through the example of Greek and Latin writers, and of Dante and Petrarch. Excellent examples of varied terza rima are found, pp. 286-295.

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The impossibility of knowing just what metric accent was given to Italian poetry by English readers, renders the discussion here speculative. The prevalent custom of travel in Italy, and the craze for all things Italian,[1] however, makes it tolerably sure that knowledge was first hand and fairly correct. The fact that knowledge of Italian was not confined to a limited class of scholars, but widely spread, increases the psychologic probability of emphasis on all common points between the two languages, and upon all matters of resemblance.

We have seen that vernacular poetry had come to be recognized in Italy,[2] France,[3] and England as dependant upon syllable number and accent. The line of the terza rima of Dante is hendecasyllabic.[4] Since the French take the masculine or oxytonic verse as a norm, and the Italians the feminine or paroxytonic, there is very nearly an equation between the Italian eleven syllable and the French ten syllable line, and, by analogy, with the English line of the same measure. Besides this intrinsic parallelism between the normal Italian verse and the French and English, certain variation in the former supplies other relations. The accent falls upon the tenth[5] syllable

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1.- Ascham: Schoolmaster: pp. 72-92; Harvey: Works: The Italienated Englishman. 2.- Trissino: De la Poetica: Div. 2, p. 16, excellent discussion, cf. p. 114; Minturno: L'Arte Poetica: Bk. I, p. 3. 3.- Du Bellay: Deff. et Illus. C. VIII, p. 130. 4.- For authority in the following discussion I have drawn without reserve upon Prof. Grandgent's Introduction to his edition of the Divina Commedia, pp. XXXV-XXXVI, and upon Mr. Tozer's Essay On the Metre of the Divina Commedia, Appendix V. Textual Criticism of the Div. Com., Rev. Edw. Moore. 5.- Dante (De Vul. Elo., Bk. II, q.v.) pronounces the line of eleven syllables "the stateliest as well by reason of the length of time it occupies as of its capacity in regard to subject, construction, and words": He discusses the apparent line of ten syllables, but claims the desired feminine ending in one case through a double consonant ending:

Ara auzirez encabalitz cantars'

which he declares has the force of a syllable; and again through a long final vowel:

De fine si vient sen et bouté.

Lines of an even number of syllables he condemns as rude. In regard to combination of varying line lengths, he states the line of eleven

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of the Italian verse; occasionally the final syllable is dropped and the line becomes masculine or purely decasyllabic and is called tronco:

"Ma dimmi, se tu sai a che verrano." Inferno, IV, l. 60.[1]

Again an extra uncounted syllable changes the line to sdrucciolo, and this with some emphasis on the sixth syllable, gives the cadence of the alexandrine.[2]

"A parole formar disconvenevole." Inferno, XXIV, l. 66.

"Ch'era ronchioso, stretto e malagevole." Ib. l. 62.

"Parlando andava per non parer fievole." Ib. l. 64.

An attempt to reduce these variations to definite classes of words is only partially successful.[3] Moreover tronco and sdrucciolo are too fully recognized in Italian criticism as legitimate modifications to warrant apologetic discussion. The importance for us in argument lies in rhythmic modulation.

The accent in Dante's line falls, as noted, with full force upon the tenth syllable; besides this there is a secondary accent upon the fourth or sixth syllable. His metre in the strict sense of the word is iambic, or a succession of light and strong syllables. Of this Grandgent says it is a movement more nearly approaching that of English poetry, than this theoretical scheme would indicate:..." Tozer writes: "the lines naturally break into feet of two syllables,[4]

1.- Cf. Inferno, IV, 56; XX, 74; XXVIII, 32; XXXII, 26; XXXII, 62; Purg. IV, 68; XII, 41 (Tozer). 2.- Inf. XV, 1; XXIII, 32; XXVIII, 80; Par. XXVI, 125; XXVIII, 125. (Tozer). 3.- V. Tozer: Op. Cit. p. 714. 4.- Trissino: Div. 2, p. 16: In a treatment of feet states the Iambics have the greater preëminence. Later (Div. 4, p. 83) he excuses his exclusive use of iambic verse for examples, on the same grounds.

(Continued)
syllables "seems to rise still more clearly and loftily in its stateliness "when combined with those of seven syllables. (Cf. Mr. Tozer: Op. cit.)

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the stress or beat being on the latter of the two syllables:

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita

Mi retrovai per una silva occura. (Inf. I, 1-2.

and when the poet desires to give the greatest smoothness to his verses, he keeps to this; - "The regularity of this is saved from monotony by various substitutions, chief of which is the use of anacrusis, or beginning the line with a strong syllable. The

The problems of synisesis, elision, and hiatus, as they affect the measure and cadence of the line, plunge us into further uncertainties.[1] Here it must be simply stated that all rules are subject to frequent exceptions. In synizesis the word accent falling upon the first vowel absorbs the second. If the accent falls naturally upon the second, the vowels are pronounced separately. This applies to words within the line. Final words receive a separate vowel articulation, which produces the most frequent form of sdrucciolo. The elision of a single unaccented vowel before a vowel commencing the next word is regular; the elision of two is common, and that of three occurs. An accented final vowel however retains its individuality and is pronounced independently of the succeeding initial vowel. If the latter is weak it may be absorbed or united with the stronger sound as a diphthong. This process is called hiatus. In monosyllables great independence of treatment prevails. Since the liberty accorded the Italian poet, in the treatment of his vowels, is so great, it would be illogical not to expect some liberties, on the part of foreign readers, in the rendition of the metre. We have reason to believe, as already stated, that the English rendering was fairly correct, but it would be unreasonable not to expect a certain emphasis upon elements related

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1.- Trissino: De la Poetica: Div. II, pp. 20, 21, 22.

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to native metrical schemes,

In fine we have in the verse of Dante an epic metre stately, ample, and capable of receiving all the embellishments of art. It has a sustained iambic movement. The strong accent upon the tenth syllable relates the rhythm of the line to the French and English decasyllabic measure. The sdrucciolo lines give the cadence of the alexandrine.

To attribute a relationship between these characteristics and the Spenserian verse is a delicate and dangerous task. It is by no means intended to assert that Spenser read Dante's epic and found these in combination decasyllabic and alexandrine lines which he transferred to his own verse. It is intended to state as clearly as possible that Spenser found in the terza rima[1] of Dante a noble medium, dignified both by a master poet and a master poem. One far removed from the "envy of the present days," honored by critics, and susceptible of infinite art. He found there too an echoing cadence and rhythm which he sought to reëmbody through the nearest familiar form, the English heroic line, and the French alexandrine.

Two phases of evidence may be adduced in favor of this theory, Spenser's strong Italian interests and the quality of his verse.

The national popularity of all things Italian has been noted. Sidney's Defense of Poesy is a rendition of Italian criticism and as such is far in advance of contemporary English works. In discussing the merit of the vernacular, he states by contrast that

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1.- Terza rima was not uncommon in England. Beside well known examples three popular romances, Le Bone Florence of Rome (aab/ccb/dab), The Erle of Tolous (aab/ccb/ddb/eeb) and Launfal by Thomas Chestre were in this metre. It was also commonly used in poems of occasional character.

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the Italian is cumbered with elisions. He notes as a disadvantage the lack of a fixed caesura, the incapacity of the language for masculine rhyme, and comments on the nature of the sdrucciolo.[1] The knowledge and imitation of Italian verse, evident from Chaucer to Milton, had undergone a notable revival at the hands of Wyatt and Surrey. Spenser's own interest is attested by his early translations from the Italian[2] and the subsequent reworking of these into forms more near to the Italian rhythm. His whole work reflects the influence of Italian literature and critical thought.

The outstanding quality of Spenser's verse is its melliflu-ous smoothness. His recent editor[3] notes his "almost unerring sense for language and his apparently inexhaustible power of welling out the most limpid and exquisitely modulated verse." Lowell writes:[4] "There is no ebb and flow in his metre more than on the shores of the Adriatic, but wave follows wave with equable gainings and recessions, the one sliding back in fluent music to be mingled with and carried forward to the next." It is this level harmony which bespeaks a kinship to Italian verse closer than mere number and rhyme. It is this musical quality which unites the verse of Spenser with that of Dante, the musician poet of Italy.[5]

When we consider the absolute familiarity with Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso, which is reflected in Spenser's work, and contrast the epic riches of Italy with the epic poverty of England, there is small wonder that Spenser assimilated metre and tone quality where he found both inspiration and material. He seeks always soft and liquid sounds.[6] The prevalence of vowels, the sibilant

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1.- Def. of Poesy, p. 56. 2.- See Van der Noodt's Theatre.
3.- Prof. R. E. N. Dodge. 4.- Essay on Spenser. 5.- El. Vul. Eloq. C. X and XI give a discussion of musical setting; V. Arnaldo Bonaventura: Dante e la Musica, Livorno, 1904. 6.- V. supra. Invention of Italian names.

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sounds of s,c,z, and the softness of g aid effect, but most of all the level tone and lack of stress give an Italian quality to his verse. Read aloud a canto from Spenser and note the even tone of the voice, in which a lingering pause gives cadence rather than stress. Note the softness of the iambics; note the unity of prose and verse accent which more than all else breeds a sliding smoothness. Note too how perfectly the light stresses correspond to the norm observed in the Italian verse; the stress on the fourth, sixth, and tenth syllables is uniform. But note most of all the light quality of Spenser's alexandrine, where the accent falls with gentle surety upon the tenth syllable leaving the two last as light almost as the sdrucciolo.[1] "Doe breed repentaunce late and lasting infamy."
II, V, 13.

"And gan to break the bands of their captivities."
II, V, 17.

"And let him hear some part of their rare melody."
II, XII, 33.

"The which beside the gate, for swyne was ordered."
III, IX, ii.

When the soft smoothness and cloying sweetness of Spenser's liquid verse is compared with the strong stress, swift almost martial beat, and rugged quality of Chaucer's and Lindsay's vigorous quatrains, the one impression is of total dissimilarity. It may be said of them, they are both verse, as it is said to accentuate the unlikeness of individuals, they are both men.

From The Monkes Tale we take the following:

"The mighty trone, the precious tresor,
The glorious ceptre and royal magestie

1.- Puttenham (Arte of Eng. Poesy, c. 4) notes this quality in an alexandrine quoted from Surrey. The sharpe accent upon the antepenult, he says, runs like a dactyl, carries the two later syllables away so speedily that ti seems but one foot in our vulgar measure, and "by that meanes, makes the verse seeme but of eleuen sillables."

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That hadde the king Nabugodonosor
With tonge nunethe may descryved be
He twyes wan Ierusalem the citie;
The vessel of the temple he with him ladde,
At Babiloyne was his sovereyn see,
In which his glorie and his delyt he hadde."

From Lindsay:

"Gett vpe! thow slepist all to lang, O Lord,
And mak one haistie reformatioun
On thame quhilk doith tramp doun yi gratious worde,
And hes ane deidly Indignatioun
Att thame quhilk makith trew narratioun
Off thy Gospell, schawing the verytie.
O Lord! I mak the supplicatioun
Supporte our Hope, and Charytie."

Monarchie, Bk. II.

With these compare the following stanza from the Faerie Queene:

"And more to lulle him in his slumber soft
A trickling stream from high rock tumbling downe,
And ever drizzling raine upon the loft,
Mixt with a murmuring wind, much like the sowne,
Of swarming bees, did cast him in a swowne:
No other noyse, nor peoples troublous cryes
As still are wont t'annoy the walled towne
Might there be heard: but careless Quiet lyes,
Wrapt in eternall silence farre from enemyes."[1]

I, 1, 41.

We are here confronted by two theories as to the structure of the Spenserian stanza. Simply stated they are as follows: (a) A double quatrain borrowed from Chaucer and Lindsay with an added alexandrine; (b) The terza rima of Dante modified to stanzaic form. The first involves the assumption of a prototype which has no feature in common with its copy save a partial agreement of rhyme scheme. It further demands a double hypothesis of structure from unrelated sources. The second posits an antecedent of like nature to its

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1.- The example selected from Spenser is purposely an extreme to point contrast. I am fully conscious that the difference in material exercises an enormous influence upon the tone effect, but even where Spenser seeks a vigorous or martial expression, his tone-quality is flaccid as compared with resounding accentuation of Chaucer and Lindsay.

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offspring and embraces complete unity of structure. Hence it is concluded that the partial correspondence of rhyme scheme between the double quatrain of Chaucer and the stanza of Spenser is accidental, and that the true original is a stanzaic form of the terza rima.

As regards the exact stanza form the possibility of a number of convergent influences is to be reckoned with. King James in his Short Treatise on Verse designates a nine line stanza as the standard of heroic verse. He writes:

"For the descriptioun of Heroique actis, Martiall and knichtly faittis of armes, vse this kynde of verse following callit Heroicall, as-" There follows a stanza built of three terzains, rhyming aab/aab/bab.[1] Lindsay also uses an interesting form of terza rima with a rhyme scheme of aab/aab/bcc.[2] These are distinct borrowings from the Italian, and represent two of the simpler rhyme schemes of the terza. The poems are in regular decasyllabic line. The verse of the Divina Commedia itself has a tendency, through the recognition of the tercet as a component unit, to divide into groups of nine. Thus in the first canto of one hundred and thirty-six lines, every ninth line is marked by a full period, except l. 45, followed by a dash, and l. 117, which takes a semicolon. In the second canto the proportion of run on lines is slightly greater. The third shows fourteen groups of nine of which all are periodic except two (ll. 72-90) which are run on, one (l. 54) followed by a semicolon, and another (l. 27) by a comma. Cursory experiments with other cantos show about the same proportions. Experiments with the

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1.- C. VIII. 2.- Lindsay: Works, E.E.T.S., V. 11. Ane Exhortation Gyffen Be Father Experience Vnto His Son The Cvrteovr, and also The Epistil to the Redar, prefaced to his Monarche.

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division of the Spenserian stanza are not conclusive; they show an almost equal sense of quaterno and quinario or sestette and tercet,[1] groups, the positions of which are indifferently reversed.

The above citations of stanza form have been made solely with the purpose of suggesting a certain familiarity on Spenser's part with the form which he selected for the Faerie Queene. It has been already suggested that the popularity of the Orlando and of the Gerusalemme Liberata would influence Spenser in the selection of a stanzaic medium. It must further be stated that the separation of the terza rima into stanzas, relieved the poet from the strain of a continuous linkage for which the English language was little adapted.

The true prototype of the Spenserian stanza is probably to be found in the Italian Madrigal, which although it may add or omit a line is uniformly of the measure of nine.

The madrigal or mandriale, as it was called, was a form which assumed some importance among Italian writers and critics. Its uncertain relationship to the sonnet, canzone, ballate and capitoli obscures its origin.[2] Antonio da Tempo, a contemporary of Dante, includes it as fifth among the seven classes into which he divides vulgar rhyme.[3] He gives the etymology mandra, pen or fold, later herd. The verse first arose among rude and rustic men who sang the love of the vulgar Venus, in simple words to the rude music of their flutes. But today, adds da Tempo, these verses are compiled in a more subtle and beautiful manner. Although he admits the difficulty of adequately describing love in rustic words, he insists that the

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1.- Minturno (L'Arte P--. Bk. III, p. 217.) notes the readiness with which the stanzaic group of nine may be rendered as a quinario and quartetto or as a senario and terzetto. 2.- Trissino (De la P--. Div. 6, p. 114) notes the mandriale as being popular before the time of Dante. 3.- Frattalo delle Rime Volgare (1332) p. 72. (Vol. 27 of Series: Collegione di Inedite e Rare Opere.

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diction shall retain something of its original character, and that the sound be beautiful yet also preserve some rusticity in harmony with the words. The stanza consists of three terzains with interlinked rhyme. The examples given are of the simplest nature: aba/aba/aba/; and abb/abb/abb/. The line is commonly an undenarius, but it may be a septenarius, a biseptinarius or two measures may be combined.[1]

It is pertinent to observe here that the Italians are not obsessed by a reverence for inviolable uniformity;[2] the thought is sometimes allowed to regulate line number and length, rather than that form should always control and compress thought. The fact that Dante allows himself an extra line or two at the close of his canto, is one proof of this; another is the familiar tailed sonnet;[3] a third is to be found in the variant forms of the canzons, ballate, and capitoli, and to these we may add the verse in question, the madrigal.[4]

Bembo, in his comments on developments in Sicilian, Tuscan, and Provençal verse, notes the mandriale among the more or less free forms. Both Trissino and Minturno tell us that the last group in terza rima may be developed into a quarterno or a quinario.[5] The former deals with the mandriale at length. He compares it to the sonnet form with divisions of volte and tornelli. He analyses these into certain fixed modes or combinations, and gives illustrations.

1.- Ib. pp. 139-141. 2.- A. Firenzuola: Razionamenti: p. 270 sq. At a courtly discussion modelled on those of the Decamerone a guest recites a canzone. This is severely criticised as varying in structure from the work of any author ancient or modern. The composer defends his innovation by the example of the ancients. He is opposed by an argument for definite law of form. He declares new inventions demand new forms, and wins the debate. Firenzuola (pp. 285-286) further defends innovation. He gives examples of canzone in stanzas of eight, thirteen, twelve and nine lines. The last runs: aba/bbc/cdd. 3.- Trissino: De la Poetica: Div. IV, p. 49. 4.- Bartella, Francisco: Compendio Dell'Arte Ritmica: pp. 202-203. 5.-Trissino: De la Poetica: Div. 4, p. 81; Minturno: L'Arte P-. Bk. III, p. 264.

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The examples point to the popularity of a closing couplet.[1] A clear distinction must be made between the ottava rima built of quatrains and the eight line madrigale which is constructed of terzains, with a double ritornello or couplet ending.

Since full recognition has been accorded the variation in the madrigal, we may return to our argument, which is concerned with the normal form of nine lines, and seek to establish its relation to Spenser's stanza. Minturno divides the epic into three classes: "La prima è di Seruentesi, la seconda di Romanzi; la terza di rime Sciolti." The first is identified with the terza rima and hence with the measure of Dante.[2] The Serventisi is further identified with the terza rima of the capitoli and analogically with the madrigal. Hence a stanzaic form of the terza rima becomes identified with epic metre. Dante himself clearly makes no distinction between the terza rima of his canzone, which he declares the noblest form of poetry and his continued composition.

Trissino discusses the structure of the madrigal with full illustrations.[3] Three of these are of especial interest. One of eight lines from Petrarch runs: aba/bcb/cc. Another of ten lines has the scheme: aba/cbc/ded/e. The third is regular: aba/acc/cdd. In a similar discussion of the madrigal Tasso cites the same group.[4] Of the nine line madrigal he writes - "it is read without the fifth line without injury to the structure."[5]

That is, the scheme aba/acc/cdd

becomes aba/a(c)c/cdd

and equals aba/acc/dd.

This change preserves the integrity of the terza rima structure, but gives a concluding double tornello instead of the third terzain. The

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1.- Trissino: Op. cit.: pp. 78-81. 2.- Ib. p. 263: V. also p. 114.

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alteration was made by a commentator of Petrarch and through it he secured coniformity with the two preceding stanzas of the madrigal which were of eight lines each, with the final double tornello or couplet.

In pointing out the fifth line as a pivot upon which the structure of the madrigal turns from its standard[1] to its most common variant, Tasso almost incidentally enunciates a fact which carries the logic of a general principle. Other substitutions are possible, but numerous experiments prove the fifth space to be the point at which most commonly a line can be withdrawn or inserted without injury to the terza rima structure of the madrigal.[2] The rule is not stated elsewhere, but its application by Vellutello and citation by Tasso is evidence of the study and reduction to law of variations within the madrigal, and as such it must have been known to writers of the popular genre and hence to Spenser.

If, accepting the fifth as a pivotal space, we apply the principle of Tasso conversely to the madrigal of eight lines cited by both him and Trissino, we have as the only logical result the following:

1.- The predominance of a nine line madrigal is indisputable:

Parnaso Italiano:	V. 26	p. 21.	abb/acc/cdd/		Ariosto
	" "	" "	abb/acc/cdd		?
	" "	" 96.	abc/abc/cdd/:		Fracasto
	V. 30	" 269.	aba/ccd/dee:		Molza
	" 31	" 136.	aab/edc/dee		Ariosto
	" "	" 321.	abb/aac/cdd		"
	V. 41	" 102.	abb/cdd/cee		?

2.-This refers only to those schemes which have tercelli with interval rhyme and linkage.

(Continued) "è da credere che Dante trovasse queste Terze rime per far versi, che avessero similitudine a lo Eroico"; and also: (Dante) "ritrovò quel modo di Terze rime le quali Antonio do Tempo, chi fu a l'età sua, dice, che sono Serventesi." 3.- Ib. Div. IV, p. 79. 4.- Dialoghi V. 3, pp. 84-85. 5.- Ib. p. 85. "Benchè questo madrigale se così vogliamo più, tosto chiamarlo, nel Petrarca comentato dal Vellutello, si legge senza il quinto verso, senz'alcun danno de la testura." (This line can be omitted without injury to the context.)

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aba/bcb/cc

aba/b ( ) c/bcc

aba/bbc/bcc

The last is the Spenserian rhyme scheme.

It is not intended to assert that Spenser necessarily modelled his stanza upon the identical illustrations found in Trissino[1] and Tasso. The discussion deals with principles of verse structure rather than with specific instance. The background is a knowledge of how freely principles of criticism and specific illustrations were passed from critic to critic and nation to nation. The appearance of certain illustrations in the work of two critics increases not only the possibility of the poet's knowledge of the passage, but also increases the probability of its reappearance elsewhere. The madrigal in question, so close to Spenser's verse, as to be brought into complete conformity by a single and authorized modification, was one of Petrarch's, and could easily have been known to the poet from the original.

It has been a matter of surprise that among hundreds of madrigals which nearly approximate Spenser's scheme, no exact counterpart has been found. This but proves the poet's skill through the very perfection of his conception. He limits his stanza to a triple rhyme, thus eliminating what would have been an unbalanced element had he followed Dante's precise form. By rhyme within each terzain, and uniform interlinkage he secures a complete circle of harmony, to

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1.- Trissino is, however, acknowledged by Sidney as an authority. Spenser's knowledge of him is almost a foregone conclusion. The popularity of Tasso's dialogues was widespread. Their composition extended over a number of years probably from 1576-1595. They were brief, easily handled in MS. and the probability that they were known in the coterie of Sidney is great. The particular dialogue in question, La Cavaletta o vero de la Poesia Toscana, was not published before 1587. The date of composition, not later than 1584, is uncertain. A certain kinship with the youthful Arte Poetica might well place it earlier.

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which the undulating cadence of the alexandrine gives an echo.[1] Nor was it without a subtle appeal to the Renaissance that Spenser compassed the perfect number and attained the music of the spheres.

Contemporary evidence for the recognition of Spenser's stanza as a madrigal form, while not conclusive, is yet not to be disregarded. Richard Carlton published in 1601 his Madrigals to Five Voices. He included as madrigals three stanzas from the Faerie Queene:

"Nought is on earth more sacred or divine,"
V, VII, 1.

"Nought under heaven so strongly doth allure,"
V, viii, 1.

"Ye gentle ladies, in whose soueraigne powre,"
VI, viii, 1.

The poet himself designates his work as a madrigal. To Sir Walter Raleigh, a known composer of madrigals, a fellow poet, with whom he had talked and under whose encouragement the Faerie Queene was brought to light, Spenser writes in his dedicatory sonnet:

"To thee that art the sommers nightingale
Thy soueraine Goddesses most dear delight
Why doe I send this rusticke madrigale
That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite?"

The connotation of madrigal here demands consideration. Does Spenser intend merely a politely deprecatory reference to his great court epic, as the medium of love and praise, or does he imply a genuine source or form? We have seen that the identification of the Spenserian stanza with the Italian form of the madrigal is a logical possibility. The greater probability rests upon a conception of the genre which would approach the dignity of Spenser's

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1.- The alexandrine has been explained as an echo of Dante's endrucciolo. This measure is by no means uncommon as the last line of the madrigal. Cf. F. A. Cox: English Madrigals of the Time of Shakespeare: Intro., p. 14. Mr. Cox points out "'More then most faire' - also from the 'Faerie Queene' appeared in 1630, arranged by Martin Pierson". The volume of Mr. Pierson is inaccessible to me, but I believe the passage in question is [illegible]

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theme, and the national attitude toward this Italian importation.

Two centuries earlier Da Tempo noted that the madrigal had abandoned its early rusticity for a more artistic form, and he demanded only that traces be kept of its origin. Trissino[1] says of the terza rima that it should have suavity and calm sweetness, but should be overloaded with figures. Spenser has in a measure conformed to these strictures. In its comprehensive definition of the madrigal the Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca includes the following characterization: "Sono dunque i madrigali, come tutte le altre poesie, di tre sorti: narrativi, rappresentativi o imitativi, e misti." There would seem to be here a sufficiently broad classification to include the Faerie Queene.

Toward the close of the sixteenth century the madrigal assumed unparalleled popularity in England.[2] The fact that it bore both a musical and literary character makes the problem almost insoluble; for free[3] as we have shown the Italian structure to be, the arrangement of the words to music in part songs, destroys law of form[4]

1.- De la Poetica: Div. 6, p. 138. 2.- Nicolas Yonge: Musica Transalpina (1588), a Coll. of Madrigals; Rimbault's Bibliotheca Madrigaliana lists about eighteen hundred Elizabethan madrigals; Thos. Oliphant in Musa Madrigaliana (London, 1837) cites about four hundred Eliz. Madrigals with some Italian originals; the Sonnets, Songs and Madrigals of Wm. Byrd were issued in publications dated 1587, 1588, 1589, 1591; Thos. Morley's Cansonets appeared in 1593, his Madrigalls to foure Voyces, in 1594, a third collection in 1595; George Kirbye's Madrigals were published in 1596; John Dowland's First Book of Songs or Airs, in 1597, his second in 1600, third in 1603; John Wilbye; First Set of Eng. Madrigals, 1598; second, 1609; the famous collection of madrigals in praise of Elizabeth, The Triumphs of Oriana (modeled upon Il Trionfi di Dori, pub. at Rome in 1597 (?))was printed in 1601, but not made public until 1603. With the early 17th Cent. the publications increase beyond number.
3.- Vocabulario delli Accad. della Crusca: Madrigals - "libero nell' ordine delle rime e nello mescolanga de'versi." 4.- Encyc. Brit.: Madrigal is the name of a form of verse, the exact nature of which has never been decided in England.

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and leaves theme and function as distinguishing characteristics. Hence the reputed madrigals of Wyatt, Campion, and Turbervile are canzone and canzonets which do not conform to fixed types. Only in the work of Watson, that careful scholar, who, according to Ascham,[1] and later Harvey, would not publish his hexameters because twice or thrice the anapaest thrust itself in the place of the iambus, do we find material for literary investigation. The First Sett of Madrigalls Englishd was published in 1590.[2] Watson has, with scholarly conscience, endeavored to reproduce, as he says upon his title page "the affection of the Noote." Practically every characteristic feature of the madrigal is to be found illustrated in Watson's collection. The lines are endecasyllabic or a feminine decasyllabic; they are tronco or masculine decasyllabic; sdrucciolo or twelve-syllabled;[3] the seven or fourteen syllable lines are to be found. The endeavor to reproduce the line length of the original (see nos. 1 and 2) while not uniform is in specific instances notable. But the level quality of the accent is a more definite Italian characteristic than mere outward conformity. Whether Watson was influenced by Spenser it is impossible to say but in both poets may be traced the same critical and experimental attitude.

On the whole popular interest centred in England on the musical function of the madrigal. In its literary development nothing appears of sufficient moment to have influenced Spenser. A single allusion by Thomas Campion seems to place the madrigal upon the lofty plane accorded it by Spenser. He writes of Anacreontic verse,

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1.- Schoolmaster, p. 164. 2.- V. (F. I. Carpenter: Thos. Watson's Ital. Mad. Eng.: Jour. of Germ. Phil., V, II. 3.- A supporting line of argument could be developed from Spenser's use of the feminine ending, but his use of this form is so insignificant as compared with the body of his work, it merits little consideration.

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"yett is it passing graceful in our English toong, and will excellently fit the subiect of a Madrigall or any other lofty or tragicall matter."[1] The allusion is, however, more probably to a sad and serious subject of song, for it is to be remembered both the praise of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ were sung in madrigals.

We may therefore conclude that Spenser in his choice of the madrigal as his stanzaic form was under the influence of Italian rather than English literature. In the former he found the madrigal as a highly artificial form inextricably related to the sonnet, ballate, capitoli and canzone. As the Serventese of Dante and the stanza form of the terza rima it held an epic dignity. Hence Spenser may deliberately and with good reason have designated his epic a madrigal.

The discussion of this subject has of necessity been discursive. It has been necessary to place before the reader the experimental stage of metre, and to demonstrate that both critical problems and metrical forms were passed from nation to nation. To this end, the movements in Italy, France, and England to restore classic metre were discussed; the diversion of these aims, the compromise with modern forms, and the results were pointed out. The accepted theory as to the structure of Spenser's stanza was reviewed. As the basis for a new theory the common elements in the metre of Dante and Spenser were compared. A more specific stanzaic form was sought in the madrigal. The nature, form, relations, and function of this genre and its transferrence to France and England were discussed.

From the above the following conclusions have been drawn. As the result of the experimental stage of metre, and in default of

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1.- Observations on the Art of English Verse, (1662) C. 9.

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a fixed precedent in his own language, it was a point of artistic honor with Spenser to devise a new metre for what he designed as the greatest epic of all time. The accepted view of this metre is refuted on the ground that there is no relation of tone or quality between the stirring rugged verse of Chaucer and Lindsay and the liquid mellifluence of Spenser's stanza; that the partial agreement of rhyme scheme is accidental; that the theory involves a double and unrelated hypothesis; that a structure made up of distinct elements would psychologically keep some trace of its original components and last that no notable work, which would have tempted Spenser to rivalry, existed in the metre of the double quatrains.

The theory is offered that Spenser turned to Italian sources for his metric scheme; that he rejected the ottava rima of Pulci Boiardo, Ariosto and Tasso as too baldly imitative for his own dignity, but accepted a stanzaic measure as a proper and popular medium for the epic. In the terza rima of Dante he found a medium dignified by its use in a great epic. This he transferred in all the music of its tone qualify, and syllabic form into the nearest equivalent of his native language. In accordance with English poetic genius he standardized syllabic number and line length, taking the masculine decasyllabic line as a norm, developing the cadence of the sdrucciolo into the alexandrine and placing it in a uniform position. Beyond doubt he effected this transmutation with full consciousness of the heroic value of the English decasyllabic line, and of the lingering cadence of the French alexandrine, and perhaps with the stanza of M. Ferrers directly in mind. For stanzaic form his direct model was the nine line madrigal recognized by all critics as a stanzaic form of terza rima. Furthermore it is urged that his

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stanza has a complete unity which bears no trace of composite structure, and that its level tone and musical quality indisputably mark its Italian origin and kinship with Dante and the madrigal.[1]

Spenser devised his stanza with the keenest exercise of his critical faculties. His guiding principles were the Renaissance theories of imitation and invention. They focussed in his work. The first gave him a legitimate right to draw upon the literature of the world, the second bade him create anew from the riches gathered there. For the dictum of Horace "make the treasures of Greece your own," was echoed in substance by all his successors of the Renaissance. And so, as we have said Spenser drew his stanza as he drew his inspiration from the richest literature of his age, but in the light of his critical judgment he recreated it in the media of his own nation.

Nor did his critical insight rest here. His was a criticism sublimated with genius. The affiliation between his verse form and his theme has deservedly received the admiration of succeeding ages. There is no more haste in Spenser's stanza than in his story. Together they move onward with the scarcely perceptible motion of a great river. "It is spacious and exceeding wide" as he says of his

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1.- In advancing a new theory it is with a feeling approaching triumph that the theorist discovers that an earlier critic has subconsciously approximated his own view. Warton is perhaps the man who has best understood and therefore best loved Spenser. A recent reference to his Observations has given new meaning to the following passage: pp. 157-158. [In regard to the complicated rhyme scheme of the F.Q.] "a circumstance natural to the Italian which deals largely in identical cadences. Besides it is to be remembered that Tasso and Ariosto did not embarrass themselves with the necessity of finding out so many similar terminations as did Spenser. Their octava rima has only three similar endings, alternately rhyming. The last two rhymes formed a distinct rhyme. But in Spenser, the second rhyme is repeated four times and the third three.

See examples of the measures of the Provençal poets in Petrarch. Spenser forms a compound of many of these. The last statement verges upon and endorses the theory offered in this thesis.

Another odd endorsement of the madrigal form of Spenser's stanza comes from the 18th century. In 1736, Sheridan writes to Swift: I know you love Alexandrines; for which reason I closed the above

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own work, susceptible of each elaboration of his "fine filed" phrase, capable of conveying his every thought. With stately dignity it sounds the loftiest praise; with calm gravity it imparts his moral precepts; with melting harmony it depicts his most voluptuous scenes. Spenser's theme was one of praise, love and adventure, the same sung or recited by gleemen in the age it represents. His verse was born in an echoing memory of harmony. It was executed with an ever conscious musical cadence and quaintness of phrase, that recreated the glamour of the troubadour's tale.

This chapter has been devoted to the mechanics of Spenser's art. It has been shown that his diction was not the conscious recrudescence of any particular period, but a sincere and critical effort to restore and enrich his native language through legitimate channels prescribed by authority. In the matter of figures have been demonstrated the wide interest of the age, and Spenser's own skill, variety, richness, and restraint. For his versification a new theory has been advanced, not as a matter susceptible of proof, but as a feasible hypothesis, which unifies elements left unaccorded under the commonly accepted theory. Throughout the discussion it has been proved that Spenser's processes were those of a mechanical art, which deliberately sought and fitted materials to its end. It has been shown how, through his skill in that art, diction was merged into figures, figures in turn became a part of verse structure, and how the three form a background for a more specific study of Spenser's style.

(Continued)
madrigal with one. I think it is of a very good proportion, which I hope you will set to music." (Swift's Lett. V. IV, p. 167. Ed. 1768.) A study of Italian influence upon Spenser's other verse forms would be made corroborative of general Italian influence.

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Chapter VIII.

Spensers Style: - Three phases of style. - Spenser's choice of the moyen style. - Adaptation of style to theme. - Renaissance conception of style. - Art the distinctive feature of Spenser's style. - Renaissance conception of Art. - Spenser's conception of Art. - Use of detail. - Figures of sound and repetition. - Delineation of character. - Decorum. - Effect of Masque on style. - Visualization. - Ut pictura poesis. - Meoldy. - Emotional key. - Conclusion.

The term style embraces a triple conception of the presentation of material: a manner of expression according to elevation or epitaliings; a manner which through the force of literary example has become the fixed characteristic of a particular genre; or a manner which bears the individual stamp of the author. Although the three conceptions may sometimes be merged in the pronounced mannerisms of an author, as the sounding periods of Cicero have come to be significant both of his individual and linguistic style, and also of oratory, formal criticism has nevertheless always preserved a distinction. Hence in the following discussion the three phases of style which embrace Spenser's keynote of exultation, his conception of Epic style, and the individualistic quality of his work, will be considered separately. It is to be understood, however, that this distinction is rather one of literary inception or foreordination, than a functional process. No hard edge of demarcation exists between any two, and the execution of the first two is determined by the last. Of these three phases the third is essentially the most important and most pervasive. The individualism of the writer, however, is not a critical feature or phases that can be reduced to rule. The principle of a distinctive mothod of pre-

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sentation, therefore, while fully recognized in the Renaissance,[1] remained somewhat in abeyance as a fully formulated theory. The emphasis of rule was thrown rather upon degree of exaltation in style, upon decorum, and upon the adaptation of style to genre. Individualism was nevertheless the true touchstone of style, and slowly became incorporated as a vital factor in the body of criticism.[2]

In Plato, the first great prose stylist, is to be found the inception of many of the basic theories of the criticism which dominated the Renaissance; chief among them was the principle of individualism. In the matter of style it was he who gave full recognition to divine fury as a quality,[3] which in its exaltation exceeded measurement by logical standards, but he tempered the presumptive rashness of such a theory by the clear formulation of the corrective and controlling power of art. Art, he says, requires discussion and high speculation about the truths of nature, whence come loftiness of thought and completeness of execution. And in proportion ~~and in proportion~~ as one falls short in either nature or art so is he defective.[4] In his conception of the divine archetype, and of the less perfect pattern reproduced by the poet he sees the intrusion of the poet's

1. De Laudun (L'Art Poetique, Livre IV, C. 1.) says there are three things impossible for man to imitate. "le foudre de Jupiter, la massue d'Hercule et le stile d'Homere,-"; Spenser himself in the dedicatory sonnet to Lewkenor's translation of Contareno writes: The buildings of Venice are fair but not so fair "As Lewkenor's stile that hath her beautie told".
Puttenham: Arte of Eng. Poesie, Bk. III, c. V: "So we say that Cicero's stile and Sallust's were not one, nor Caesar's and Livius, nor Homer's and Hesiodus, nor Herodotus and Theucidides, nor Euripides and Aristophanes, nor Erasmus and Budaeus stiles."

2. Ib. - "there be that (those) have called stile the image of man, mentis character; for man is but his minde, and as his minde is tempered and qualified, so are his speeches and language at large, and his inward conceite be the mettall of his minde, and his manner of utterance the very warp and woof of his conceite".

3. Jowett V. 1, Phaedrus p. 450.

4. Ibid. p. 478

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personality.[1] And in his further teaching in which he harmonizes grace, rhythm, beauty and goodness, and teaches that this harmony is dependent upon words, and that the words and character of style depend upon the temper of the soul,[2] and in turn through their harmony find their way into the inward places of other souls,[3] he reaches the vital centre of style as the reflection of the poet's personality.[4]

Aristotle goes a step further in formulating the triple connotation of style when he writes: "Poetry now diverged in two directions, according to the individual character of the writers. The graver spirits imitated noble actions, and the actions of good men. The more trivial sort imitated the actions of meaner persons, at first composing satires, as the former did hymns to the gods and the praises of famous men -------.[5] As, in the serious style, Homer is preeminent among poets, ----- so he too first laid down the main lines of Comedy, ----.[6]" Thus Aristotle while he primarily recognizes style as the reflection of the individual, also saw it as an independent quality which could be compassed in different phases by the same person, and as a manner peculiar to a genre.

1. Rep.: Bk. X, pp. 597 sg.

2. Ibid., Bk. III, p. 398.

3. Ibid., Bk. II, p. 376.

4. Symposium: p. 579 (Jow. I) "Souls that are pregnant conceive beauty and wisdom. They embrace beauty. Who would not rather have the children of Homer and Hesiod and other great poets than the ordinary human ones. They must love universal beauty and so will create many fair and noble thoughts and notions in boundless love and wisdom."

5. Poetics, IV, 7.

6. Ibid., IV, 9.

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These conceptions grew and developed with the Renaissance and became permanently fixed in the [illegible] of criticism. It is a far cry from the labored exposition of honest but heavy Puttenham to the insinuating intuition of Pater, yet there exists between the two the rapprochement of a basic principle. Puttenham writes: "Stile is a constant and continuall phrase or tenour of speaking and writing, extending to the whole late or processe of the poeme or historic, and not properly to any peece or member of the tale: but is of words, speeches, and sentences together, a certaine continued forme and qualitie, many times naturall to the writer, many times his peculier by election and arte, and such as either he keepeth by skill or holdeth on by ignorance, and will not or peradventure cannot easily alter into any other."[1] Pater conceives style as "--- an expression no longer of fact, but of his [the writer's] sense of it, his peculiar intuition of a world, prospective, or discerned below the faulty conditions of the present, in either case changed somewhat from the actual world. ------- For just in proportion as the writer's aim, consciously or unconsciously, comes to be the transcribing, not of the world, not of mere fact, but of his sense of it, he becomes an artist, his work fine art.-------Literary art, that is, like all art which is in any way imitative, or reproductive of fact - form, or colour, or incident - is the representation of such fact as connected with soul, of a specific personality, in its preferences, its volition, and power."[2]

Although with Puttenham the objective, with Pater the subjective phase of style receives emphasis, their views converge into the personality

1. Arte of Eng. Poesie: Bk. III, pp. 123 sq.

2. Essay: Appreciations on Style, 1889.

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of the writer, and in their assumption of the supreme importance of the individualistic quality, either consciously or unconsciously they hark back to the teachings of the great Plato.

To single out this touchstone of individualism is no mean task. It must be that pervasive and centralizing quality towards which all phases of style converge, and in which they find a focus.

The style of Spenser embraces the exalted seriousness of a noble theme, the dignity and breadth of the epic genre, but the central quality which bespeaks the writer and stamps as his own the products of his creation, is the quality of art. The qualities of exaltation, dignity, invention, smoothness, and melody are attained not through the fire of genius but through the painstaking processes of art.

Before entering upon the discussion of this dominant phase in which Spenser, following in the footsteps of Tasso, embodies within his work the detailed critical teachings of the age, and by so doing confirms and perpetuates the utility of criticism as an independent branch of literature, it is necessary to turn first to those divisions of style, which the authority of the Renaissance found more susceptible of reduction to law.

The first of these may be designated as the pitch or tone of exaltation in which a composition is conceived. There was throughout the Renaissance a general division of style into high, mean (medium), and low, according to the degree of elevation employed.

The incipient idea appeared in Plato's[1] and Aristotle's[2] conception

1. Phaedrus: (Jowett I) pp. 450,451, 443; Rep. Bk. III.

2. Poetics, XXII, 1,3,4.

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of the essentials of a lofty style,[1] but Cicero put the theory into plain words. There is, he writes, a form and as it were a complexion of eloquence of which "there is one sort which has fullness, but is free from humor;[2] one which is plain, but not without nerve and vigor; and one which, participating of both these kinds, is commended for a certain middle quality. In each of these three forms there ought to be a peculiar complexion of beauty, not produced by the daubing of paint, but diffused throughout the system by the blood."[3] Quintillian elaborates the scheme: "There is another mode of characterizing style", he says, "which also resolves itself into three divisions, and by which the different forms of eloquence seem to be very well distinguished from one another. One style,------, the Greeks call ἰσχνόν or plain; another they term ἀδρόν or grand and energetic; and a third which they have added, some call a mean between these two, others the ἀνθηρόν or florid style."[4]

The plain is adapted to stating facts, perspicuity is its chief characteristic, and narration its medium; the mean has as its function pleasure and conciliation and flows gently as a placid stream; while the grand style is destined to move the feelings and to sweep all before it as a mountain torrent.

The famous treatise <u>On the Sublime</u> (Περὶ Ὕψους) commonly assigned to Longinus, while it does not formulate the triple division of style lends

1. It is worthy of note here that each of these critics with the acumen of genius declares simplicity the perfection of style: "then beauty of style and harmony and grace and good rhythm depend on simplicity, - I mean the true simplicity of a rightly and nobly ordered mind and character" - <u>Rep. Bk. III</u>; "The perfection of style is to be clear without being mean." <u>Poetics</u>, XXII, 1.

2. He has previously recognized the danger of exaggerated height of style (<u>De Oratore</u>, Bk. III, 25, 26).

3. <u>De Oratore</u>, Bk. III, 52.

4 <u>De Institutis Oratoris</u>, Bk. VII, c. X.

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itself admirably to the support of the general theory.

From these sources the theory passed to later critics by-[1] [2] [3] authority it was received unquestioningly by Dante, Daniello, Muzio,[4] [5] [6] [7] Scaliger, Toissins, Summo, Tasso, and others. With the tide of criticism which set from Italy to France[8] and England the theory passed.

1. El Volgario Eloquio: Bk. II C, 11. "By tragedy we bring in the higher style, by comedy the lower style, by elegy we understand the style of the wretched.

2. Della Poetica: p. 76: Three styles: "Vna graue & sublime. L'Altra mezzana. Et la terza attenuata et humile."

3. Dell 'Arte Poetica: Bk. II, p.73. Three manners of speaking:"La sourana, la humile, and tra lo due." Quella, che d'una, & d'altra e ne confini."

4. Poetics: Lib. IV, c. 2, "Nunc ad ippa dicendi genera ita accedamus, vt appositis ad praeceptiones exemplis perfecti stili rationem familiarem faciamus. Sunt igitur formae tres. Altiloqua, Infirmia, Media, quam aequabilem vocare liceat nobis."

5. Div. VI, pp. 120-121.

6. Discorsi (Op. Guarini, V. III, p. 561)

7. Dell' Arte P -. Discorso Terzo: Tre sono le forme de'stili: magnifica o sublime, mediocre, ed umile. -"

8. In French criticism the matter of style was one of implication rather than rule. De Laudun recognizes the nobility of the epic genre but commends a style clear, facile, and sweet, rather than too grave. (L'Art Poetique François Livre IV, c.9). Vauquelin following Horace points out the danger of too high or low a style (L'art Poetique, Livre I, ll. 271 sq) and admits upon occasion the intrusion of the base in tragedy, and the elevated in comedy. (Ib. l. 313 sq) He like De Laudun, for a long work, commends a middle styke:

"Chante d'vn air moyen, non tel que l'Heroique,
Ni si bas descendant que le vers Bucolicque,
Mais qui de l'vn et l'autre vn vers enlassera.
Qui tantost s'elevant, tantost s'abbaissera.
Tel que du grant Mayon le doux plaisant ouurage." (Livre I, ll.915-9)

(Cf. Ib. Livre II, ll. 87, sq.) Boileau devotes Chant 1 of his L'Art Poetique to a consideration of style in general, Chant II to the conventional adaptation of style to genre. In both themes he sounds the watchword of the Pleiade, reason. Fabri is lucid: "Il est trois manieres de parler de toutes matieres ou de toutes substances, ainsi comme l'en peult reduire toutes substances on matieres en trois especes: la premiere haulte et graue; la seconde moyenne e familiarre, la tierce basse et humiliee." (Rethorique, p. 27) Among other French critics such a division is rather one of implication than rule. Little emphasis is placed upon extreme exaltation. The acceptance of the Metrical Romances as epic forms worthy of imitation is possibly the

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There was a corollary of this general theory which developed simultaneously or slightly in the wake of the more elemental principle, and gradually came to assume greater importance. This was the theory of a style suited to the genre. With Plato the nobility of a high style, and the logic of decorum were principles interwoven with his philosophy of life, and responsibility toward the state. Despite, therefore, the importance accorded the subject his views are not to be reduced to rule or pithy utterance.[1] Aristotle points out the innate nobility of epic poetry,[2] and the necessity of propriety or decorum.[3] Quintillian by a happy application of the three forms of eloquence to Homer's presentation of Menelaus, Nestor and Odysseus transmutes their speech and manner into definite literary principles and crosses the line between the laws of style and the theory of decorum.[4]

Vida's elaborate Art of Poetry is written for the express purpose of teaching the noble epic style in which decorum is an important feature.[5] The Italian critics exalt the nobility of the epic genre,[6] and emphasize decorum.[7]

Tasso passes swiftly from a consideration of the formal divisions of style to the peculiar fitness of the sublime to the epic. The magnificent style, he says, belongs to the epic for two reasons, first the highest

1. Phaedrus: Jowett V I. pp. 443,451,480. Symposium: p. 479; Gorgias: p 332 Repub.: Bks. II, III, Iv, X.

2. Poetics: IV, 6,9. V, 4-5; XXII, 7; XXIV, 1-11.

3. Ibid., XV, 1-8

4. De Institutiis Oratoris: Bk. XII. c. 10.

5. Bk. I, ll. 1-10, Bk. II, ll.455-495.

6. Minturno: L'Arte P-. Bk. 1, p. 22

7. Scaliger. Poetics; Lib I, c.14.

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matters are portrayed by the epic, and for these only the highest style is fitting; second every part works toward the same end as the whole; since the epic has as its end the marvellous which is born only of sublime and magnificent matters, the style must conduce to this end.[1]

In England the theories received a practical form best exemplified by Ascham and Puttenham. "The trew difference of Authors", writes the former, "is best knowne per diversa genera dicendi that everie one vsed. And therefore here I will divide genus dicendi, not into these three, Tenue, mediocre, et grande, but as the matter of everie Author requireth, as

in genus
- Poeticum
- Historicum
- Philosophicum
- Oratorium

These differre one from another in choice of wordes, in framyng of Sentences, in handling of Arguments, and vse of right forme, figure and number, proper and fitte for everie matter; and everie one of these is diverse also in it selfe, as the first.

Poeticum, in
- Comicum
- Tragicum
- Epicum
- Melicum "

For the latter grouping Ascham cites illustrative Greek and Latin poets whose writings through "the difference they vse in proprietie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in handlyng of their matter", shall easily show "what is fitte and decorum in everie one, to the trew vse of peffite Imitation."[2] He elsewhere discusses the various styles and the pitfalls attendant upon each and designates decorum as "the hardest point in all learning", yet as

1. Dell'Arte P-. Discorso Terzo; Cf. Poema Eroici, Libro Primo p. 82.

2. Schoolmaster: Imitatio. pp. 162 sq. Ascham adds for style in oratory the division: "Humile, Mediocre, Sublime" (p. 165).

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"the fairest and only mark that scholars in all their study must shoot at."[1]

Puttenham with an echo of Plato's phraseology, writes of style "vnder these three principall complexions (------) high, meane and base stile, there be contained many other humors or qualities of stile." These he enumerates but states uncompromisingly "to have the stile decent & comely it behooveth the maker or Poet to follow the nature of his subject, that is if his matter be nigh and loftie that the stile be so to." He proposes, for the benefit of all lovers of learning, to set down the matters adapted to specific styles "to the intent the stiles may be fashioned to the matters and keepe their decorum and good proportion in every respect."[2] In this discussion he emphasizes decorum, finally reaching the vital point of excusing indecency when it is the quality which would have naturally belong to the person.[3]

With such a background of criticism to mould both its conception and execution, there is small wonder that the work of the scholarly Spenser should conform in a remarkable degree to the critical canon of the age.

The invocation which prefaces the whole work is modest in tone. The poet avoids the swelling bombast of introduction condemned by Horace, and by a long train of succeeding critics:

> "Lo! I the man, whose Muse whylome did maske,
> As time her taught, in lowly shephards weeds,
> Am now enforst, a farre unfitter taske,
> For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine oaten reeds."

---

1. Ibid, p. 110

2. The Arte of English Poesie, Bk. III, c. 1-8.

3. Ibid, c. 7.

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He calls to his aid Calliope, "chiefe of myne"[1], the muse of eloquence and the epic; Cupid and his "mother mylde"[2], and with them triumphant Mart, not in his bloody guise, but -

"In loves and gentle jollities arraid."

Last he invokes Elizabeth -

"Great Ladie of the greatest Isle, whose light
Like Phoebus lampe throughout the world doth shine,
Shed they faire beames into my feeble eyne,
And raise my thoughts, too humble and too vile,
To thinke of that true glorious type of thine,
The argument of mine afflicted stile:"

In the moderate style of this prologue, Spenser sets with infinite skill the tone of his epic, and foreshadows his themes. With this proem under his eyes, the mind of the student of criticism turns unerringly to the French school, and its repeated insistence upon the old romances as true epic themes[3], and upon the moyen style[4].

The opening lines of the first canto are characterized by the same unassuming modesty. The poet steps in medias res but there is no blare of trumpets as the great canvas is unrolled. No scene of sudden splendor greets wondering eyes. Level the plain stretches before us and we scan its surface slowly for the objects of interest:

1. Cf. Hesiod: Theogony; Chaucer House of Fame ll. 1399-1400. (Tr. by Banks p. 6; and p. 290 Met. Trans.)
"So song the mighty Muse, she
That cleped is Caliopee"
also V.E.K. Sh. Cal., Apr. Ec. l. 100; June, l. 57.

2. Cf. Phaedrus: Jowett I., p. 472 ff: "Divine madness or inspiration was divided into four classes, prophetic, initiatory, poetic, erotic. Of the third the source of inspiration was the muses, of the fourth, Aphrodite and Eros"

3. Ronsard: Pref. Franciade, p. 23. De Laudun: L'Art P. c. IX, p. 145; Du Bellay: Deff. et Illus: c. V, p. 120.

4. Sebillet: Art Poet. Fr., c. 14, p. 166; Fabri states the "haultz mots" may be applied to the "moyenne substance" but should not be debased to the low. (Rethorique, p. 28)

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"A gentle knight was pricking on the plaine,
Ycladd in mightie armes and silver shielde
Wherein old dints of deepe wounds did remaine,
The cruell markes of many a bloody fielde;
Yet armes till that time did he never wield:"

And next we see -

"A lovely ladie rode him faire beside,"

while -

"Behind her farre away a dwarfe did lag,
That lasie seemed, in being ever last."

It is as if one stood and slowly absorbed the detail of a great picture. The absence of haste and movement is heightened by the symbolism of the bloody cross, of the lowly asse, and the milke white lambe. A storm arises, but there is no flash of lightning, no roll of thunder. There is a bare suggestion -

"The day with cloudes was suddenne overcast,
And angry Jove an hideous storme of raine
Did poure into his lemans lap --------."

The <u>dramatis personae</u> find immediate but unhasty shelter in a lovely grove, where birds make sweet harmony, undisturbed by the storm, and where the trees are described not through qualities of appearance but through functional properties, "the sayling pine", "the builder oak", "the laurell, meed of mightie conquerors".

There follows the knights' first combat, with Errour, in which allegory impedes every movement, just as the serpent, coiling herself about the knight, hampers his every motion. There is no thrill of excitement, no throb of anxiety, no fire of high resolve. The style is tempered to a moderate tone in full accord with the theme.

That this moderation is due to no lack of confidence on the part of the poet is fully attested by his boasts. He purposes to rival all the great epic poets, and to overgo the most popular poets of the age, Ariosto

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With supernal pride he dedicates his poem to Elizabeth,

"To live with the eternite of her fame."

But it is with fine critical acumen that having projected a work embracing philosophy, moral allegory, love, adventure, and praise, couched in the medium of romantic epic, that Spenser has tempered his style to a mezzotone. It is a style which is adapted to the presentation of all these themes, and one which may be elevated or depressed at will as the theme demands.

The invocations which are to be found scattered throughout the Faerie Queene indicate that Spenser was keenly alive to such gradations. When the Knight is about to enter upon his combat with the great dragon,[1] the poet pleads:

"Now, O thou sacred Muse, most learned dame,
The nourse of time and everlasting fame,
That warlike hands ennoblest with immortall name:
O gently come into my feeble breast
Come gently, but not with that mightie rage,
Wherewith the martiall troupes thou doest infest,
And hartes of great heroes doest enrage,
That nought their kindled corage may aswage:
Soone as they dreadfull trompe begins to sound
The god of warre with his fiers equipage
Thou doest awake, sleepe never he so sound,
And scared nations doest with horror sterne astound.

Fayre goddesse, lay that furious fitt asyde,
Till I of warres and bloody Mars doe sing,
(2) And Beryton fieldes with Sarazin blood bedyde
Twixt that great Fairy Queene and Paynim King,
That with their horror heven and earth did ring,
A worke of labour long, and endlesse prayse."
"But now a while lett downe that haughtie string
And to my tunes they second tenor rayse
That I this man of God his godly armes may blaze."

F. Q. Bk. I, C. XI., st. V, VI, VII.[2]

~~1. Bk. I. c. XI~~

2. Cf. "No Muses aide me needes heretoo to call:
Base is the style, and matter meane withall."
M.H.T., ll. 43-4

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But when he proposes to sing the lineage of Gloriana he writes:

> "Who now shall give unto me words and sound,
> Equall unto this haughty enterprise?
> Or who shall lend me wings, with which from ground
> My lowly verse may loftily arise,
> And lift it selfe unto the highest skyes:
> More ample spirit, then hitherto was wonnt,
> Here needes me, ----------".

F.Q. Bk. II. c. X, st. 1.

The fact that the stanza quoted above and the succeeding one are paraphrased from Ariosto[1] rather confirms than mitigates their critical value for it shows that Spenser in adopting the freer form of epic, also consciously adopted the variant style suited to it,[2] and was following the same standards as Ariosto. Of Ariosto, his age at large was content to accept the view of his translator Harrington, "Me thinks it is a sufficient defence to say, Ariosto doth it."

In thus attributing to Spenser a moderate style in contrast to the swelling notes of more mighty circumstance, it is not intended to convey that the poet fails to observe the breadth and dignity due to the epic. He accords full recognition to the gravity,[3] ornament,[4] and extension[5] which

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1. Canto III, 1-2.

2. Guarini: Op. V. 3. De' Duo Verati
p. 423 - "il quale [stile] dovendo esser proporzionato alla favola, bisogna bene che s'ella è mista, anch'egli per essere uno, sia misto."
— "Demetrio Falereo maestro nobillissimo degli Stili, c'insegna, che le due forme da lui chiamati ἰσχνὸν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, cioè dimessa (humble) e magnifica, non si possono mescolare, così afferma che l'altre due γλαφυρόν καὶ δεινόν cioè la polita, e la grave il possono fare accompagnate con l'una o con l'altra dell' antidette." This the writer of Tra. Com. follows—"perciocche trattandosi in essa di persone grandi, e di Eroi, non conviene favellare umilmente, e perciocche nella medesima non vuole il terrible e l'atroce anzi si fugge, lasciando da parti il grave, prendesi il dolce, che tempera quella grandezza, e quella sublimità, ch'è proprio del puro tragico. Così lodava Donato il giudicio, e l'arte di Terenzio, che sì bene avesse saputo andar per mezzo di coteste due forme tanto contrarie."

3. Aristotle Poetics V. 4; XXII, 7, XXIV, 4,5,6; XXVI, 2; Minturno: L'Arte P- Bk. 1, p. 9; Scaliger: Poetics: Lib III, c. 96; Daniello: Della Poetica, p. 23, p. 24

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are inherent qualities of epic style.

The underlying seriousness of his theme secures the first quality for there is no doubt Spenser reverently regards the office of the poet as that of a statesman and a teacher.

Although, as has been noted elsewhere, his allegory, at times, savors of mediaeval baldness, as in the description of Error[1] and the anatomical account of the House of Alma[2], it should always be borne in mind that a wide gap exists between the religious consciousness of the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries. That, which to the later subtle spirituality appears a raw crudity, in the age of authority was an apt invention destined to move to responsive action.

In contrast to these presentations which should be regarded as a survival of earlier literary elements and a concession to popular taste, the poet depicts such scenes as the House of Holiness[3] and the Court of Mercilla[4] with a stately dignity which lifts his style to a high plane of serious elevation. And again in the passages relating to Wanhope[5] and the Cave of Care[6], there is an intensity of mental visualization which rises far above the commonplace..

4. Poetics, XXIV, 5; XXIV, 11; Segni: La Poetica d'Aristotle, p. 340; Minturno: L'Arte P -. Bk. 1, p. 3; Muzio: Dell Arte P. Bk. II, pp. 79-80; Daniello: Della Poetica, p. 74.

5. Aristotle: Poetics, V. 4; XVII, 5; XVII, 4. XXIV, 3, 4; XXVI, 6. Segni: La Poetica d'Aristotle, p. 339. Trissino: De La Poetica: Div. 6, p. 96; Muzio, Bk. II, p. 83, Bk. III, P. 88.

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1. F. Q., I, 1, 14 sq.

2. Ibid., II, IX. 33 sq. 3. Ibid., I, XI. 4. Ibid., V, IX. 5. Ibid., I, IX, 33 sq. 6. Ibid., IV, V, 38 sq.

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A discussion of ornament and extension, although they are definite features of epic style, brings us into the third phase of our division of style and embraces Spenser's individual manner of expression.

It has been shown that, from the standpoint of an abstract division of style into sublime, moderate, and base, that Spenser has chosen the moderate as best suited to the broad scope of his poem; that from the standpoint of the epic he has preserved dignity, richness, and fullness. Seeming lapses from the epic standard will be discussed later with the critical principles condoning such variations. There yet remains to be considered the impress of the poet's personality upon these basic principles.

In the introduction to this consideration of Spenser's style, it was stated that the dominant note of his individual expression was conscious art.

If we could transpose to the English language the Italian word artificiosa[1] with its subtle significance of art and artificiality, the one word would characterize Spenser's style. For the over elaboration of art in the carefully wrought sentence and fine filed phrase, carries his work, as the poet deliberately intended, beyond the limitations of natural expression dictated by nature into a heightened diction, which is as the cultivated garden laid out in formal design and crowded with rare and beautiful flowers, to the woodland glade, where untrained trees turn gracefully toward the sunlight, and lift their branches to each passing breeze, and where amid their roots the violets nestle. Which is the more beautiful, the garden or the glade, rests with individual taste. The Renaissance preferred the garden.

1. For this connotation compare Harvey's "our new famous enterprise for the exchanging of Barbarous and Balductun Rymes with Artificial Verses".

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Spenser's conception of Art was that of a quality which exceeded nature.[1] It represented nature enhanced by decoration or training as the case might be -

"And over him, Art, stryving to compayre
With Nature, did an arber greene dispred,
Framed of wanton yvie, flouring fayre,
Through which the fragrant eglantine did spred
His prickling armes, entrayld with roses red
Which daintie odours round about them threw;
And all within with flowres was garnished,
That, when myld Zephyrus emongst them blew
Did breath out bounteous smels, and painted colors shew."

F. Q. II, V, 29

This is but a part of a scene in which nature is enhanced by murmuring streams, flowing fountains, melody of birds, beds of lillies, and the presence of beauteous maidens.

The Bower of Bliss is: —

"A place pickt out by choyce of best alyve,
That Nature's worke by art can imitate:
In which what ever in this worldly state
Is sweete, and pleasing unto living sense,
Or that may dayntist fantasy aggrate,
Was poured forth with plentifull dispence,
And made there to abound with lavish affluence."

F. Q. II, XII, 42

There is a wide plain: —

"Mantled with greene, and goodly beautifide
With all the ornaments of Floraes pride,
Wherewith her mother Art, as halfe in scorne
Of niggard Nature, like a pompous bride
Did decke her, and too lavishly adorne."

F. Q. II, XII, 50

The grapes hang, "hyacine", "Rubine" and "emerande"

"And them amongst, some were of burnisht gold,
So made by art, to beautify the rest."

F. Q. II, XII, 55

1. There is no purpose here to consider art other than in its practical application to literary creation.

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But amidst all this lavish beauty the chief charm is ___

> "And that which all faire workes doth most aggrace,
> The art, which all that wrought, appeared in no place."
> One would have thought, (so cunningly the rude
> And scorned partes were mingled with the fine)
> That Nature had for wantonness ensude
> Art, and that Art at Nature did repine;
> So striving each th' other to undermind,
> Each did the others worke more beautify;
> So diff'ring both in willes agreed in fine:
> So all agreed through sweete diversity
> This gardin to adorne with all variety."

F. Q. II, xii, st. 58-59

In the last quotation is voiced the true view of the Renaissance. Nature and Art are complementary. In an impassioned moment the emphasis may be thrown by one critic upon divine inspiration; in a period of sober reasoning another may exalt art and learning, but just as the theories of instruction and delight are welded into a common purpose, so the functions of nature and art are reconciled in the process of creation.[1]

However, despite the affiliation of ideas expressed in the above quotation Spenser regards art as possessed of a power excelling mere nature. This idea appears in works other than the Faerie Queene. There are pictures:

> "In which oftimes we Nature see of Art
> Exceld in perfect limming every part."

Hymne in Honour of Beautie, ll. 82-83

And again:

> "___Arte, with her [Nature] contending doth aspire,
> T'excell the naturall with made delights."

Muiopotmos, ll. 165-6

He says of a fault:

> "If nature, then she may mend it with skill".

Amoretti, 41, 3

Art is a refinement of nature whether it carries the significance of court-

1. Cf. Visions of Belle., st. 12. "It seem'd that Art and Nature had assembled,

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ly blandishment -

"A filed toung furnisht with tearmes of art"
[1]
C. C., l. 701,

of magic -

" - amiddes
His magick bookes and artes of sundrie kindes."

F. Q., I, i, 36, 8,

or of learning -

"All artes, all science, all Philosoph,".
[2]
F. Q., II, ix, 53, 8,

This conception of Art as superior to Nature Spenser has applied to his own work. There is none of the fine simplicity which the genius of Plato and Aristotle unerringly divined as the best style,[3] nor of that simple vigor which Sidney felt but could not analyze in the old ballads.[4] The mark of the craftsman is over all. Figures are carefully wrought; words are carefully chosen; each sentence shows the fine filed phrase, each picture the elaboration of detail.

It is a curious bit of irony that the only theory which has come down to us directly from the poet's own critical work, The English Poete, should be in contradiction to the statements and practice cited above. For in the Argument of the October Eclogue E. K. tells us that Cuddie, in whom "is set out the perfecte paterne of a poet", complains of the contempt into

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1. Cf. F. Q., I, i, 35; V, v, 49. 5-6

2. Cf. F. Q., IV, XI, 26, 9

3. Rep., Bk. III "The beauty of style and harmony and grace and good rhythm depend on simplicity". Poetics Bk. XXII, 1: "The perfection of style is to be clear without being mean."

4. Def. of P-., p. 29.

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which Poetry has fallen:- "Specially having bene in all ages, and even amongst the most barbarous, alwayes of singular accoumpt and honor, and being indede so worthy and comendable an arte; or rather no arte, but a divine gift and heavenly instinct not to bee gotten by laboure and learning, but adorned with both; and poured into the witte by a certaine Ἐνθουσιασμὸς and celestial inspiration, as the Author hereof els where at large discourseth in his booke called The English Poete, which booke being lately come to my hands, I mynde also by Gods grace, upon further advisement, to publish."

The absolutely stereotyped character of this one excerpt from Spenser's book of criticism offers food for speculation. It is at variance as we have seen, with the poet's later views and practice. Is it only the common human discrepancy which exists between our theory and execution? Or, did Spenser with wider knowledge and mellowing experience, deliberately discard and even suppress his youthful work? Perhaps like Harvey, in regard to his "Rules and Precepts of Art" in reformed versification, he was unwilling for the "publiſhing thereof, vntil I have a little better conſulted with my pillowe, and taken ſome farther aduize of Madame Sperianza."[1] and the reflection resulted in suppression. Certain it is we have no direct trace of the work save the one indirect quotation by E. K.

In an ultimate conclusion Spenser would doubtless acknowledge nature and art as complementary forces, but the whole temper of his mind, in its practical application was bent towards art as craftsmanship. In both attitudes he represented the Renaissance.

But there was abundant support for the working idea of art as craftsmanship. The Renaissance, as we have noted elsewhere, was close to

1. Three Proper - Letters: p. 27 (Grosart Ed. Harvey. V. I.)

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the Middle Ages. Under the stimulus of rediscovered classicism national literature must either be created or revised. This was possible only through art and imitation; hence there issued a flood of critical works which prescribed every detail in the creation of literature, with attention focussed upon the Epic.

No ¶

Thence it was inevitable that the working principle of Art became craftsmanship.

Plato declares that all the processes of art are creative,[1] but the attainment of perfection is possible only through the union of natural power and art.[2] With Aristotle conscious art implies acquired skill[3] which is in sharp contrast with work conceived by chance,[4] or invented at will.[5] Moreover this art chooses the method of its creation or imitation, and makes its objects equal to superior or inferior to nature.[5] In the epic especially aggrandizement is sought. The light irony of Horace touched both sides of the question.[6] His more famous passage effects the union of nature and art, which became the ultimate view of the Renaissance. But the scorn he casts upon Democritus because the latter declares genius superior to art[7], and the

1. Symposium; Jowett I, p. 575.

2. Phaedrus; Jowett I, p. 478.

3. Poetics; I, 4.

4. Ibid, XIV, 9; XVI, 4

5. Ibid, XIV, 8; Aristotle: Politics, (Tr by Walford) III, XI, p. 102 "fine pictures excel any natural objects by collecting into one the several beautiful parts which were dispersed among different originals, although the separate parts of individuals, as the eye or any other part may be handsomer than in the picture."

6. Ars Poetica: "Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic altera poscit opem res, et coniurat amice." LL, 408-11

vide as poetry.

7. Ibid, ll 295 sq.

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repeated injunctions as to the necessity for revision, the labor of the file, study, and imitation, throw an emphasis upon art as a working principle, which is pointed by the distinct declaration of his purpose to teach the mechanics of poetic art.[1] Vida, like his master, stresses polish and revision, and also hints at the Ovidian dictum that the highest art is to conceal art.[2] This principle is so logical and universal in significance that it has entered criticism with proberbial force and form.[3][4]

Dante warns that the true difficulty of composition lies in the exercise of needful caution and discernment, and that this care can never be attained without "strenuous efforts of genius, constant practice in the art, and the habit of the sciences." Further, he bids those who, innocent of art and science and trusting to genius alone, rush forward to sing of the highest subjects in the highest style to confess their folly and to cease from such presumption.[5] Boccaccio too teaches the necessity of diligence and perseverance in art.[6] Nature is worth much, he says, but to this must be added learning. Learning, precepts, and art constitute poetry, which takes its name both from art and artificial execution.[7] There is no uncertainty in the pronouncement of Lionardo Bruni. According to him all poets must

1. Ibid, 11. 303 sq.

2. Ars Poetica, 1. 227.

3. The precise origin of this phrase is open to doubt. There exists a Latin proverb, Ars est celare artem. Ovid has twice voiced the principle: Ars Amandi II, 313, Si latet ars prodest: Metamorphoses X, 252, Ars adeo latet sua arte. Whether the proverb antedates or is derived from Ovid is not known to me. Longinus has —.

4. Note it appearance in the B. and C. versions of Piers Ploughman. B. p 18, 1. 161; C. p. 21, 1. 66 and 1. 295.

5. De Vulgario Eloquio: Bk. II. C. IV. 6. De Genealogia Deorum Bk. 15, C. 2

7. Ibid, Bk. 14, C. vii. V. Supra, C. VI.

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by observation and practice become familiar with every device which lends distinction and adornment to the literary art."[1]

Daniello pushes the theory a step further. "Per tanto dico che niuno (a mio Giudicio), fu ne è, o sia giamai di queste nome Poeta, vero & legottimo possessore, se prima l'ingegno suo fertile, non coltiuera con l'arte." Not all the endowments of nature, he says, without art and learning, are able to create a poem worthy to be called truly praiseworthy. He points out that through art the thing imitated may be surpassed, and cites as an illustration, the flowers and fruits produced by cultivation.[2]

This emphasis upon the mechanical side of art is continued with growing stress, by all Italian critics down to Tasso,[3] in whose criticism is to [illegible] formulated the pervasive type of art already pointed out in Spenser. He says the idea of artificial things is formed through the consideration of many works made artificially,[4] and there are three points of art to be noted by the epic writer: to choose such material as is adapted to receive that more excellent form which the artifice of the poet will seek to

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1. Woodward: Vittorino da Feltre: p. 125. Cf. Della Casa: Sezione, Classici Italici, V 72. pp. 299-301.

2. Della Poetica, pp. 3-6

3. Minturno: L'Arte P-. Bk. 1, p. 8; Ib. pp. 32-33; p. 75; Scaliger, Poetics Bk. III, p. 65, p. 113. Castelvetro: (Tr. of Poetics of Aristotle, p. 67, p. 69, p. 350, p. 580). His theory is that art has "ingegno a trovare." The artistic is the result of labor and ingenuity, the charm and merit of which lie in the conscious ingenuity, by virtue of which the poet rivals nature. (Cf. Charlton, Castelvetro's Theory of Poetry); Segni B. L'Ethica d'Aristotle pp. 131-2. Art is the habit of carrying out an operation with right reason. All art consists in generation, invention, and consideration of how a thing ought to be, and can be made. The inception rests not in the thing made but in the maker. Art differs from foresight in that it deals with extrinsic material, which it may change, add to, or take from at will. Artifice first contemplates what it wishes to do, then invents and disposes, and lastly generates.

4. Del Poema Eroico, p. 73.

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give it; to give the material such a form; to clothe it finally with the most rare ornaments which may be suited to its nature.[1] The more difficult task lies in bestowing this form, and here the true virtue of art is manifest.[2] For art is constant and determined, and does not comprehend under its rules, that which from instability of use is changeable and uncertain; therefore art works "not by chance but to a predetermined end."[3]

The French school is inclined to make a clear statement that "le bon naturel" is worth more than art if the choice must be limited to one. But it is made equally clear that art endows nature with a higher being, and without art no poet can hope to win immortality.[4] Fabri makes art almost synonymous with elegance,[5] and Ronsard's whole critical writings are a minute prescription for the processes of art.[6]

To follow up the development of the theory of art in English criticism would involve the dreary citation of but slightly differing views,[7] which have as their outcome the general conclusion of continental criticism viz: Art is synonymous with conscious effort, directed by the subtlety of genius, and resulting in a heightened nature. The views of Puttenham, Harvey, and Sidney constitute, from the standpoint of his own countrymen, a full

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1. Ibid. p. 75.

2. Ibid. p. 130.

3. Ibid. pp. 152, 160. Cf. La Prose Diverse: VII, pp. 115-116. Dialoghi, V III. Il Ficino o vero de l'Arte. pp. 450-451.

4. Du Bellay: Deffet Illus C. III, pp. 108-9; DeLaudun: L'Art Poetique: ch. IV p. 77.

5. Rethorique, pp. 22-23

6. L'Abregé: Pref. Franciade.

7. Wilson: Arte of Rhetorique p. 5; Gascoigne: Certayn Notes of Instr., pp. 47-48; King Jas; VI, Ane Schort Treatise - Pref. C. lill, c. vii; E. K.: Ded. Epistle to Sh. Cal.; Arg. Oct. Ecl. Stanyhurst; Pref. to Tr. of Aenid; Webbe: Discourse of Eng. Poetrie, pp. 261-33, 276, 297.

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justification of Spenser's complete adoption of the above stated theory. The first writes:- "arte is not only an aide and coadiutor to nature in all her actions but an alterer of them, and in some sort a surmounter of her skill, so as by meanes of it her owne effects shall appeare more beautifull or strounge and miraculous -------"[1] Harvey who refers confidently to "Mine owne Rules and Precepts of Arte", but dare as yet give no "Certaine General Arte", points to Aristotle as "the very Fountaines and Head Springes of Artes and Artificiall preceptes."[2] Later he writes: "To excell, ther is no way but one: to marry studious Arte to diligent Exercise: but where they must be vnmarried, or divorced, gaue me rather Exercise without Arte than Arte without Exercise.-------- Were Artists as skillfull as Artes are powerfull, wonders might be atchieved by Arte emproved-------."[3] Sidney tells us: "There is no art delivered unto mankind that hath not the works of nature for his principal object----------. Only the poet disdaining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow, in effect, into another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or quite anew, forms such as never were in nature, as the heroes, demi-gods, cyclops, chimeras, furies, and such like so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow zodiac of his own wit. Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too-much-loved earth more lovely; her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden."[4]

1. The Arte of English Poesie, p. 188.

2. Letter (IV) from Harvey to Spenser.

3. Harvey: Foure Letters (p. 226).

4. Def. of Poesy, pp. 6-7

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The foregoing summary clearly establishes the accord existing between critical theory and the expressed views of the poet. There yet remains to be demonstrated the manner in which Spenser executed his theory of art.

Profusion of detail lends to his style an unrivalled quality of stately leisure. The opening scene has been compared to a great canvas, in which the spectator slowly distinguishes one detail and then another. This quality is not to be confourded with the art of ut pictura poesis. The latter finds a different manifestation. It is due to an elaboration of thought suggestions, which tend not to paint a picture but to arrest motion, and cause the mind to linger on component parts or figures of the scene rather than upon action. Hence in the first canto there is no impression of movement. The characters are introduced. They find themselves within a grove. Here there is no picture; the thoughts are turned not to the appearance but to secondary qualities of the trees, qualities which can be known only through reflection. When the emissary of Archimago arrives at the house of Morpheus the reader loses sight of his mission, in the atmosphere of drowsiness created by the soft sibilants of the poet.[1] The great poem moves on its way unhastened. The leisure thus afforded for elaboration lends itself to epic di dignity and fullness. It afford opportunity for moral instruction, for the use of sentence, for the display of learning, for symbolism and all those other devices urged by criticism to broaden, deepen, and ennoble epic creation.

All forms of decoration are to be included in epic detail. Here belong conventional or stereotyped motifs: the catalogue of trees, genealogies, underworld journeys, frequent invocations, the use of classic figures

1. F.Q., Bk. I, c. 1, 41

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to express time, the use of the marvellous, and the introduction of gods, goddesses, and other familiar figures of mythology and the classic world.

Here too belong those figures of rhetoric which embrace qualities of sound and resonance, and tricks of diction, rather than of thought or imagination. These figures are facile instruments of artistry in the hands of this master workman. Onomatopeia as an independent and fully developed figure is infrequent but effective:

> "And ever drizling raine upon the loft,
> Mixt with a murmuring winde, much like the sowne
> Of swarming bees did cast him in a swowne."
>
> F. Q., I, 1, 41

> "The roring billowes beat his bowre so boystrously"
>
> F. Q., III, X, 58

> "With that the rolling sea, resounding soft,
> In his big base, them fitly answered."
>
> F. Q., IV, XII, 33

> "Infinite streams continually did well."
>
> F. Q., II, XII, 62

This interpretive sense of sound is, however, very strong in Spenser both in his choice of single words or phrases, and in conjunction with epithet and alliteration[1] where it materially aids in heightening style.

Alliteration is, in Spenser's hands, a subtle instrument of harmony. It is pervasive rather than obtrusive and rarely does it degenerate into the mere crudity of "coursing" a letter after the "method of a dictionare". The secret of this permeating quality probably lies in the fact that

1. "thrillant dart" (II, iv, 46); "drery swound" (VI, iii, 26; VI, xi, 13); "And all about old stocks and stubs of trees" (I, ix, 34); "An hollow, dreary, murmuring voice" (I, viii, 38); "To slug in sloulte and sensuall delights" (II, i, 23). "wasteful wilderness" (I, viii, 50); "smoothering smoke" (I, xi, 13)

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alliteration exercises its function chiefly in connection with other figures. Its union with onomatopeia has been illustrated. The conjunction with assonance is yet more common:

> "He making speedy way through spersed ayre
> And through the world of waters wide and deepe."
>
> F.Q., I, i, 39-40

In the first line every accented vowel is a front sound, high and light as the air through which the spirit passes; in the second, the sounds are guttural, low, heavy as befits the "world of waters". The lines, -

> "There in a gloomy hollow glen she found".
>
> F.Q., III, vii, 6.

> "Therein a cancred crabbed carle does dwell,
> That has no skill of court nor courtesie."
>
> F.Q., III, ix, 3

give further illustration of vowel harmony. Assonance is not, however, confined to vowel agreement alone, nor alliteration to initial letters:

> "Tho, hastily, remounting to his stead."
>
> F.Q., III, ix, 15

> "Her loathly visage viewing with disdaine."
>
> F.Q., I, ii, 39

> "And that uncurteous carle, their commune foe"
>
> F.Q., III, ix, 17

> "Unwuting of the perillous wandring waves"
>
> F.Q., I, v, 18

Further alliteration enters into figures which can best be defined as tricks of diction. Anaphora is one of the most common of these:

> "Some of sworne friends, that did their faith forget,
> Some of borne brethren, prov'd unnaturall;
> Some of deare lovers, foes perpetuall."
>
> F. Q., IV, i, 24

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"And after him Sir Douglas him addrest,
And after him, Sir Paliumord forth prest"

F. Q., IV, iv, 21

"Some of their losse, some of their loves delay.
Some of their pride, some paragons disdayning
Some fearing fraud, some fraudulently feigning."

F.Q., IV, x, 43

"Be any way His mighty will withstand;
Be any way His soveraigne power shonne" (shonne)

F.Q., V, ii, 42

The alliterative quality of these figures constitutes a distinct heightening of effect.

In ploche, simploche, anadiplosis, epanalepsis, traductic, atanaclasis and half a score of other figures which involve specific repetition, alliteration is an intrinsic feature. This is however often extended by the art of Spenser as when he writes:

"Glad of such lucke, the luckeless lucky maid"

F.Q., I, vi, 19

"Fairest of faire, that faireness doest excell"

F.Q., II, ii, 56

Again in gradation he pursues the same method:

"No tree whose braunches did not bravely spring;
No braunch whereon a fine bird did not sitt;
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetely sing,
No song, but did containe a lovely ditt."

F.Q., II, vi, xiii

Even more artificial is:

"Wrath, gelosy, griefe, love this squyre have laide thus low.
— — — — — --- — — — —
Wrath, gealosie, griefe, love do thus expell:
Wrath is a fire, and gealosie a weede,
Griefe is a flood, and love a monster fell,

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The fire of sparkes, the weede of little seede,
The flood of drops, the moster filth did breede:
But sparks, seed, drops, and filth do thus delay;
The sparks soone quench, the springing seed outweed,
The drops dry up, and filth wipe cleane away:
So shall wrath, gealosy, griefe, love die and decay."

F. Q., II, Iv, 24-25

The above examples considered alone, are insufficient to establish a mooted theory; it is, however, inconsistent with the scope of this work that all minor details be pushed to a point of finality. The foregoing statements are intended merely as corollary evidence of Spenser's conscious art. They purport, moreover, to point the way to facts easily verified through the perusal of the poet's work.

At this point it becomes necessary to abandon for a while the more general discussion of detail, and to take up specific phases of development, in relation to style, and the use of detail in connection therewith. Among these phases is Spenser's handling of character.

In their primary conception Spenser's characters are types rather than autonomic beings. There are two fundamental causes for this; the first is allegoric necessity, and the second is the stringent limitation resulting from the principle of decorum.

The necessity for the moral justification of imaginative literature through the medium of allegoric teaching has been previously discussed. A phase of this is the somewhat broader and deeper underlying philosophic conception which pervaded the literature of the Renaissance. This philosophy, drawn originally from Platonic sources, was concerned not so much with a contemplative attitude toward life as with the creation and reaction of character. Character embodies a principle which is set forth in action. Aristotle says clearly: "By character I mean that in virtue of which we as-

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cribe certain qualities to the agents;[1] " again "character is that which reveals moral purpose showing what kind of things a man chooses or avoids";[2] and yet again " -- any speech or action that manifests moral purpose of any kind will be expressive of character." Hence Spenser's intention to emulate in his work the moral interpretation accorded to the earlier epics, was consonant not only with moral teaching, but with the constructive philosophy of Machiavelli,[3] Castiglione,[4] Muzio,[5] Della Casa,[6] Bembo,[7] Guarini,[8] Elyot,[9] Hoby[10] and Sidney.[11]

The combination of allegoric method with philosophic development when limited to the exposition of a single virtue in the individual, of inherent necessity resulted in types so sharply defined that they recall the moralities of earlier days. When to such limitation is added the further restriction demanded by the principle of decorum, there is prescribed an iron clad formula for character which it required the genius of a Shakespeare to recast.

1. Poetics: VI, 6
2. Ibid., VI, 17
3. Il Principe (1513)
4. Il Cortegiano (1514)
5. Il Gentilhomo (huomo).
6. Galateo: ovvero De' Costumi
7. Epistolarum (1539)
8. Guarini: Golden Epistles; Familiar Epistles
9. The Boke of the Gouvernour
10. The Courtier (1561) Tr. of Castiglione
11. Arcadia

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The critical principle of decorum has already been touched upon in this thesis in connection with other matters. It was one of the most easily formulated, easily followed, and universally prescribed of critical canons, and, on the whole, is too well known to require exhaustive treatment here. In the development of character Aristotle makes the second essential propriety, the third verisimilitude, (true to life) and the fourth consistency. In these three closely related requirements lie the seeds of all decorum. But to this formula the critic adds the more concise statement - "a person of a given character should speak or act in a given way, by the rule either of necessity or of probability; just as this event should follow that by necessary or probably sequence."[1]

The theory of decorum is founded upon human conditions, and upon the practice of Greek tragedy,[2] in which prescribed themes and characters limited the invention of the poet to presentation rather than creation.[3] Hence Horace, when he reduced the theory to practical application, specifically states, with an echo of Aristotle, that fame or literary precedent must be observed; Achilles must be proud and wrathful; Medea, fierce; Ino, tearful; Ixion, perfidious, Io, wandering; and Orestes, sad. In his further characterizations of the gay young spark, the prattling nurse, and querulous age, the Latin critic brings the principle to a stage of complete theoretical development. To Trissino, however, belongs the honor of expanding the theory to include a detailed distinction of races, nations, ages, professions and trades, temperaments, every grade of rank and fortune, and each family

1. Poetics, XV, 2-6

2. Ibid, XIII, 5; XIV, 5

3. Ibid, XIV, 4-9

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relation.[1] This prescriptive development of character suited the temper of the Renaissance. Decorum carried the weight of classic authority and early development. It was accepted with avidity, repeated and practiced by the writers of the Italian, French, and English schools.

Under the combined influences of allegory, philosophy, and decorum Spenser's ethical and artistic end was to create a type. This end he attained, but the creation of type is by no means the only feature of interest in his handling of character. One of his most notable characteristics is the habit of grafting one character upon another.[2]

The protagonist of Book I is the Knight of the Red Cross, or Holiness. In the latter character he represents the virtue discussed by Plato under that name,[3] and closely identified by him with justice. There is a subtlety in the selection of the component parts of this character eminently suggestive of the processes of Spenser's art. The Knight of Holiness, together with Una is the exemplar of the complete theory of Platonic love. Inspired by the beauty, truth, and wisdom of Una, the divine element in his own nature is awakened and under her guidance he is led upward to a complete reunion with Divinity.

The perfection of holiness is a fit emblem of such a reunion, and constitutes a link between the philosophic and allegoric phases of the work.

Una typifies the Holy Church. The legendary defender of the church was the Knightly crusader with his cross of red,[4] who also sought jus-

1. De la Poetica: Div. 6, pp. 123-125; Cf. Scaliger: Poetics Lib. I, c. 14, p. 24.

2. Cf. Spenser's statement as regards the character of Gloriana.

3. Protagoras (Jowett I): pp. 153-156

4. It has been previously pointed out that Knights of the R. C. figured in Romance.

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tice for all the oppressed. The Holy Church is the Church of England as opposed to her displaced but haughty rival, the Roman Church. St. George is the true champion of England and the symbol of courage. The Red Cross Knight is at times endued with the arms, the virtue, the office and the feats of the legendary St. George. Another identification previously made is that with Gawayn or Libeaus Desconus, as the noble but uncouth aspirant for knightly honors.

The discussion of this character would not be complete without one other suggestion. The theory of a consistent and detailed political allegory in the Faerie Queene has been opposed in this thesis; but it has been frankly admitted on the conclusive evidence of the dedicatory sonnets that many courtiers receive the compliment of being shadowed under some of the poet's characters. In the person of the Red Cross Knight, the hero of the first book of the great poem, it is more thanprobable the poet offered his homage to some courtier of Elizabeth's court. Since detailed study of the poem has thus far revealed no distinctive evidence of identification, who this may be will probably remain a matter of doubt. But the probability remains strong, that the Red Cross Knight possessed yet another prototype in one of the great nobles of the day.[1] If a suggestion may be offered as based not upon evidence, but upon psychologic probability, Sir Philip Sidney may be proposed as the prototype of the Red Cross Knight. At the time in which this first book was probably written, Spenser was under the patronage of Sidney and Leicester. The identification of the latter with Arthur is too evident to be questioned save by the veriest carper. Sidney was noted for the purity of his life, for his deep religious convictions, and for his defense of the

1. So far no distinctive evidence of identification has been revealed.

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Church of England. He was a favored courtier of Elizabeth, and advocated resistance to the power of Spain, much as the R. C. K. expected to serve his queen against the Paynim king. Sidney was a Platonist, and in a way the idol and ideal of the English people. To identify him with the Red Cross Knight would have been a natural and logical procedure, in which the close friendship attained between the knight and Arthur would have typified relations between Sidney and Leicester.

In the foregoing analysis the manner in which one character is crossed with another until a combination is reached which is suited to the poet's artistic scheme is entirely in harmony with Spenser's idea of invention and with his general literary method. The same plan is pursued in the creation of other characters. Spenser himself has pointed out that Elizabeth is shadowed in Gloriana and Belphoebe, and we may add in Mercilla and possibly in Medina. In Duessa are typified the Roman Church, the Scarlet Whore of Babylon, Falsehood as opposed to Truth, the wicked but alluring witch of romance, and Mary Queen of Scotts.

In such varying types, Spenser's sense of decorum is often subtly modified to suit the phase of character under presentation. But in the hero of his great work he has preserved literary decorum with an exactness which has called forth the condemnation of a later age. In Arthur, as Leicester, are set forth, under the guise of Magnificence, the qualities of the destined ruler of England. Magnificence and Magnanimity are one person in which they constitute respectively the temporal and spiritual manifestation of a noble soul. The type was fixed by Plato and Aristotle. Spenser has been condemned because his hero is a mere automaton, beaten, the critics say, at his own game, outdone on every side by the achievements of lesser knights.

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A study of the Platonic and Aristotelian ideal would interpret the action of Arthur not as lethargy or mediocrity, but as the aloofness of a great soul, which, intent upon greater things, voluntarily relinquished the ordinary achievements of ambition to lesser men. Plato says that he who has "magnificence of mind" is the spectator of all time and existence; he will be absorbed in the pleasures of the soul and will hardly feel bodily pleasure; he will be temperate and the reverse of covetous, for the motives which incite another's greed will have no place in his character; there will be "no secret corner of illiberality in his mind;[1] he will be just and gentle, noble and gracious, the friend of truth, justice, courage and temperance. Moreover he will strive after being, and not content with a multiplicity of beings, will strive to attain the true nature of every essence by a sympathetic and kindred power in the soul, and through that power he will become incorporate with mind, truth, justice, temperance, courage, magnificence and all the virtues of the philosopher.[2]

Plato gives the ideal, Aristotle the application. He tells us that Magnanimity is perfect in character with a "kind of lustre or beauty, arising from the possession of every form of moral excellence." Again, "the man of moral elevation is of a disposition to do men service, though he is ashamed to have a service done him", for it is the nature of superiority to ask little or nothing from others, but to render assistance heartily and readily, and to return any kindness with increase. The perfect man "comports himself with an air of greatness toward those in high position, with moderation toward those of lower rank. He does not intermingle with ordin-

1. Rep., Bk. III, pp. 182, 188-9

2. Ibid., pp. 187-88

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ary occasions of honour, but is unconcerned except where great honor is to be won. He is calm, leisurely, never fired with admiration. He is not fond of talking; he will converse neither about his own affairs nor those of his neighbors. He is not lavish with praise nor does he speak evil of others. His attitude toward life is calm and equable. He is neither elated nor overwhelmed by prosperity or adversity. His carriage is sedate, his voice deep, and his diction measured. The province of magnanimity is honor, but honor of a grand and external nature, the due meed of perfect virtue.[1]

The atmosphere of detachment set forth as characteristic of Magnificence is the very effect which Spenser has attained in his portrayal of Arthur. The readiness to serve with no advantage to self, the dignity, silence, reserve, the abounding tenderness and courtesy, and the magnificent self-sufficiency preserve in detail the ideal of the Greek philosophers.[2] It is with the utmost reluctance that Arthur is drawn, by Una, to tell of his quest. It is with no tinge of personal interest that he befriends distressed beauty throughout the poem. The soul of Magnificence was drawn onward and upward by a power, which obscured lesser interests. And had Spenser completed his great work, we should have had in Arthur and Gloriana an exposition of Platonic love, of which the love of Una and the Red Cross Knight would have been but a pale suggestion.

The perfection of decorum preserved in Arthur is not possible in the case of all characters, but everywhere is evidence of conscious observence of the principle. The Knights speak in character of their titular virtue and are conducted through a series of adventures which call for the

1. Aristotle: Ethics: (Tr. by Hatch.) Bk. IV, c. 7 and 8, pp. 209-216
2. Cf. Salviati: Orazioni (1575) p. 67. Exposition of Magnanimity.

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exercise of its peculiar function. Yet they are knights of romance and as such they bear the insignia and observe the customs of court and chivalry. The education and accomplishments of these knights are not those of the well-rounded man of the Renaissance, well known to Spenser, but those of the old knights of romance.[1] Britomart is the legendary lady knight, and her virtue of chastity is reflected by the frailer but no less virtuous Amoret. A notable part of the detail of each book is the heightening of its moral lesson both by means of analogous incident and character and by contrast. The discussion of this last brings to our consideration a new phase of character.

Aristotle posited that the first requisite of character was that it should be good.[2] This was a concession to Plato's view that all literary presentation of evil was detrimental to the individual character and the state.[3] The rightful nobility of epic character was a conceded premise, but the introduction of lower characters became a mooted point. The practice was defended on well defined critical bases: first, through the example of Homer in the introduction of Thersites and Irus; second, on the moral ground that good could be taught through the presentation of evil; third, that into the epic as a picture of the world all grades of character might enter, that having so entered, the law of decorum demanded they should speak in character. Spenser makes his agreement with the second position clear when Medina urges Guyon to tell the story of Acrasia's victims, that the hearers

1. F. Q., I, ix, 4; I, vi, 23-24; V, i, 5-9; VI, ii, 31-33

2. Poetics, XV, 2

3. Rep., Bk. III, pp. 79-80

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"----------may pitty such unhappie bale,
And learne from Pleasures poyson to abstaine,
Ill by ensample good doth often gayne."

F. Q., II, ii, 45

The point scarcely merits discussion; it was one raised by moral or literary purists, and was practically refuted or discredited by literary practice, aside from allegoric legitimacy. Spenser found abundant justification in literary precedent for the introduction into his work of occasional low characters, and sensual scenes, indeed his most daring scenes and incidents are borrowed. It would be unjust to Spenser's art to pass over the peculiar skill with which he merges most of his low characters into beings of other-world or allegoric types. Archimago, Duessa, and the "snowy Florinel" pass from our ken, as beings belonging to another world and not amenable to the moral law of this. The miser, Malbecco, borrowed from Italian comedy, undergoes a complete metamorphosis into the classic figure of Jealousy, and so is lifted above the crass vulgarity of the cuckold. Even Dame Hellenore, as the common wife of the satyrs, becomes a queen, and the object of the adoration of the "sylvan crew" rather than a mere light o'love. Phaedria, in her wanton mirth, comes as a breath from the classic world. She is too airy a being, and Acrasia in her gorgeous garden is too richly, rarely beautiful to sink to the low level of vulgarity.

It is by innumerable such delicate touches that Spenser preserves the grace, beauty, and fine poetic quality of his work.

Here it is necessary to follow the example of our poet, and mark back to gather up the threads of wandering discourse. The specific theme under discussion is the conscious artistry of detail. It has been shown that into Spenser's delineation of character went the same painstaking minuteness of detail as characterizes other phases of his work.

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When Spenser's use of the Masque was under discussion, certain phases of its influence upon his style were reserved for consideration at this point. The very being of the Masque was vested in symbolism and spectacle, and beyond all doubt these features exerted a powerful influence upon the poet's creative imagination. The use of symbolism in accentuating character types has been touched upon. There are minor figures in the Faerie Queene, however, which have practically no existence apart from their symbolic impersonation. Such is Ignaro, the faster father of Orgoglio and keeper of his castle:

> "At last, with creeping crooked pace forth came
> An old, old man, with beard as white as snow,
> That on a staffe his feeble steps did frame,
> And guyde his wearie gate both to and fro;
> For his eye sight him fayled long ago:
> And on his arme a bounch of keyes he bore,
> The which unused rust did overgrow:
> -
> -
> But very uncouth sight was to behold,
> How he did fashion his untoward pace,
> For as he forward moved his footing old,
> So backward still was turned his wrinkled face,
> -
> -
> His name Ignaro did his nature right aread."

F. Q. I, viii, 20-21

To every question he replies naught save dully, "He could not tell". There is not a detail in this picture, and there are many, which is not a creative factor of the abstraction. There is nothing so old, so feeble, so inert, and uncertain as ignorance, and there is subtle satire in making such a figure, with his keys of opportunity overgrown with rust, the attendant upon the pride and the keeper of the stronghold of Rome. Such presentation of incarnate abstraction is peculiarly characteristic of the Masque.[1] Similar crea —

1. The relation of such types to the earlier Moralities has been noted.

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tions are the figures of Wanhope[1] (Despair), Mammon,[2] Occasion,[3] and Ate[4]in. The latter as he rushes in panting, breathless, covered with dust and sweat, and with a flaming fire upon his brasen shield, is the flying Rumour of the masque, upon whose garments are painted tongues of flame. The recurrence of these symbolic figures at frequent intervals in the pages of the Faerie Queene, exercises a distinct influence upon style. Although their moral significance is always germane to the circumstances under which they appear, the abstractions remain, in a measure, detached from the real current of the story, and promote reflection, rather than advance action. The result, therefore, is an increase in the stemming effect of Spenser's already magnificent leisureliness, and an increased gravity of the moral and reflective tone.

In depicting incident and in description the masque is again close to Spenser's consciousness. The actual masques as they appear in the Faerie Queene, and as they have been recognized and appropriated by later writers have been cited. But in the presentation of many other incidents the conception of the masque seems just on the edge of Spenser's consciousness. Such is the fight between the Red Cross Knight and the dragon, Errour, various elements in the description of the House of Holiness,[5] the cave of Mammon,[6] the Garden of Adonis,[7] the Temple of Love and the Church of Isis.[8]

1. I, ix, 35 sq.

2. II, vii, 3-5

3. II, IV, 4-5, XII-XIII

4. II, IV, 37 sq.

5. F. Q. I, X.

6. Ib. II, Vii.

7. III, VI, 42-45.

8. Ib. V, VII.

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All action is attended by hampering symbolic detail; all description is elaborated with the engraver's art. The gilded landscape of Spenser owes much to the Court of Love allegory, but the clustering vines, the rich perfumes, the murmuring waters, the sparkling fountains, the sound of music, the song of birds and beautiful maidens, which make up the voluptuous scenes of the Faerie Queene, had often made their appeal to the eyes and ears of the cultured audience for which Spenser wrote through the magnificent spectacles of the masque. All of his description assumes a static pose. In this statement we touch a subtle and vital point of Spenser's style, the quality of his visualization.

It has been said that Spenser had no power of visualization. This is a mistake. Spenser did visualize but with the far-reaching sight of the inward eye. No scene flashed upon his mental vision in broad masses of color or in lightning swiftness of action. His was a visualization which by slow mental process created each detail. He both possessed and sought the art of ut pictura poesis, but his art was a capacity for infinite detail: the genius of eternal patience. Nor was this detail necessarily of beauty. The weird, the gruesome, the loathsome exercised a fascination for him. The secret of this is hard to solve. It may be the inborn love of imitation, which as Aristotle says gives pleasure in an imitated object even when the original is displeasing;[1] it may be a strange survival of the Gothic fancy, which wrought its terrors in grotesque forms of man and beast; or else another influence of the Masque which delighted in uncouth, hybrid monsters; or even that Spenser's creative imagination, which was possessed of a quality of energia that drove his fancy toward perfection, ~~seized~~ alike ~~on the~~ horrible or the beautiful.

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1. Poetics, Bk. III, Iv, 3

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His presentation of Errour,[1] in her loathsome filth, with her accursed spawn creeping in and out of her mouth, revolting as it is, is still a picture. So is his portrait of the unmasked Duessa,[2] of Ate,[3] and of Lust.[4] In contrast with these, are the lovely tableau of Womanhood,[5] and her attendant virtues, the dance of the Graces witnessed by Calidore,[6] the voluptuous portrayal of Acrasia upon her bed of roses,[7] and the vision of Britomart[8] with her shimmering hair, which - "___raught unto her heeles, like sunny beames". So lovely is this last that Spenser later recreates almost the same picture.[9] Another portrait of Britomart has been made the pivot of much of the criticism of Spenser's power of visualization. In the contest between Britomart and Artegal, the latter by a stroke of his sword shears away her helmet, astounded by her beauty he kneels before her, she with hand upraised threatens him for the space of six stanzas before -[10]

"That her enhaunced hand she downe can soft withdraw".

This instance illustrates the very quality of Spenser's visualization which this discussion seeks to elucidate. All vision was to him a static pose,

1. F. Q., I, i, 14-27. Cf. Morte D'Arthur: Bk. XI, c. v. Dragon spued out her young who turned and devoured her.

2. Ibid., I, ix, 47-48

3. IV, ii, 27-29

4. IV, vii, 5-7

5. IV, X, 49-52

6. VI, x, 10-14

7. II, XII, 77-78

8. III, IX, 20

9. IV, i, 13

10. IV, VI, 21-26

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which could be elaborated at leisure, with all its significance of innet meaning and associations, just as the artist with infinite art and infinite patience seeks the soul beneath the surface and adds touch after touch until the pattern within his mind looks back at him from the canvas, and in this artistic creation there was added another factor of delay to the slow moving epic.

The greatest emphasis of this discussion has been placed upon conscious art as the most pervasive and distinctive feature of Spenser's style. In the fourth, fifth and sixth books there is some modification of this qyality. To define the character and degree of this change would involve endless tabular comparison. It must suffice to state that there was less conscious art, a decrease in ornament and rhetoric, especially in those figures which involved a mere juggling with words. The poet becomes a man of affairs. His allegory but thinly clothes his political interests.

With a more definite purpose, there comes greater freedom of movement and with less amplification of invention increased rapidity of style. A notable feature is the introduction of Irish local color. Ragged hills appear instead of the gilded landscape. Half-starved wretches "with heary glib deform'd and meiger face" creep out from caves. The "raskall rout" are the contemned peasantry of Ireland with their demagogue leaders. There is moreover in the episodes of the later books, especially of the last two, less of the glamour of pure romance.

But the citation of these changes tends to overemphasize the situation. The change is only relative. Spenser did not take on a new nature There are frequent reversions to conventional form and material. Such are

1. IV, viii, 12

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Tristram story,[1] and the reflections of Meliboe. There is conscious revival of artistic effort. Earlier work is embodied in the later creation, as in the Wedding of the Thames,[2] and the incident of Mirabella. There are in these later books some particularly fine passages. The account of the Court of Mercilla has a simplicity and earnestness of tone unusual in Spenser. It is as if the poet sought to justify to himself the action of his queen. Some of the pastoral scenes of the last book are peculiar in their freshness and delicacy of imagery. But not all of these merits can conceal the fact that the exuberant fancy of the poet was waning, his energy was flagging, and that necessity sat at times in the seat of inspiration.

To seize upon and analyze so delicate a thing as style is very like grasping a butterfly to examine the beauty of his wings. You have the butterfly, you have the down - upon your hands - but the beauty is gone. So in the preceding analysis, the search for cause and effect reveals both; but the delicate conjunction of the two wherein lies that spirit called style, is lost.

It has been shown upon what critical principles Spenser selected the middle style for his epic. This is his emotional key. At no time does he ascend to the impassioned heights of a great love, a deep sorrow, a high resolve, or a bitter repentance. The philosophic basis of his poem, its high moral teaching, and its medium of courtly romance alike forbid extremes. It has been shown that he preserved an epic style consonant with the dignity, richness, and grace of his theme. It has been asserted that his art manifested itself in every line. But a few paltry examples cannot show the perfection with which this style molds itself to circumstance, rising in dignity and

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1. VI, ii, 27 sq.

2. IV, xii, Epithalamion Thamesis

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sonorous phrase on serious occasion, sinking to plainer words and tolerant tone in depicting the baser scenes. Nor can there be shown the infinite riches of mythologic, classic, and scientific lore which dignify the pages with reflective interest and imaginative grace. More hopeless still, it is, to tell in words the tireless art which molds words and phrases as flexile clay, and which, drawing all the beautiful in nature to one centre, creates a nature that excels itself.

All these things make Spenser's style, these and something else, the quality of melody and sweetness which has no antecedent save the vaunted dolcezza of the Italians. This level tone, softness of sounds, and musical rhythm is sought with diligent art. Occasionally a rude rhyme betrays the poet into a momentary impatience and rhythm and diction are sacrificed to exigeant rhyme. Again the undulating cadence of his verse draws his words into needless repetition. These faults occur seldom.

Beauty, music, and art are the triad of Spenser's style. Each open page holds some charm for eye, and ear, and thought. But something is lacking. Excessive beauty, excessive melody, excessive art may pall. The caressing, clinging, cloying sweetness of Spenser's style charms, but wearies.

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Chapter IX.

Spenser, the Man and Poet: The scholar.- Critic.- Statesman.- Friend.- Conservative Churchman.- Man of the Renaissance.- Poet.- His critical principles.- His achievement.- Conclusion.

Around Spenser, as around many notable figures of the middle past, has grown up an apocrypha behind which the real man is hidden as by a wall. There is a fatal psychologic tendency in analysis of character to seek a standard of uniformity. This tendency increases in inverse ratio to actual knowledge. Looking into the shadows of past centuries, it is difficult to conceive of men as having like contradictions with ourselves. Knowledge is centred on some outstanding fact; deductions are made from this, and a type is fixed. There is place neither for contradiction nor growth. It is in this manner that Spenser has been measured.

For actual knowledge of Spenser beyond items in the public records of the Merchant Taylors' School and of Cambridge, some mention in the State Papers of England and Ireland, and scattered criticism of his work by his contemporaries, we are largely dependent upon his own writings.[1] Here is debatable evidence. A man's writings are not always in accord with his character. They may be motivated by style, purpose, occasion, and mood. It is not intended to deny the validity of internal evidence in the study of character, but rather to warn against hasty and illogical deductions.

A well sustained general purpose or theme in an extended work, or a recurrent expression of views, may be considered as fairly indicative of personal interest or tendency. Characteristics of the work, which are the inevitable result of previous training constitute

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[1] The Letters of Spenser and Harvey are considered together.

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reliable evidence. Expression of opinions which are in defiance of accepted views of society, or inimical to the interests of the author, may be accepted. Familiarity with persons or places, which is corroborated by exterior fact, and autobiographic matter confirmed by existing conditions, may be admitted as contributory evidence. Last, is the method of presentation. Here the interpretation is necessarily subtle and intuitive. There are, however, certain themes, which, having a peculiar appeal to the author, are treated con amore, with a lingering touch, as if he revelled in their beauty, and bathed his spirit in their delight. The discernment of such themes is genuinely possible only to the sympathetic reader, but they are highly interpretive of the true attitude of the author. The greatest caution should, nevertheless, be exercised in forming this personal interpretation, and especially so in the valuation of conventional passages and themes. For while under such a guise the writer may voice his true sentiments, the odds are heavy that he but follows the crowd, or at most only shadows in the passage a mood which finds an easy expression under popular theme. Thus Meliboe,[1] in his disquisition on the simple life, speaks in character, and develops in a purely conventional manner the popular theme of the mean estate. The passage fits into the context as easily and perfectly as do all of Spenser's variants. The fact that the sentiments expressed coincide with what might logically be attributed to Spenser as the result of his known experience has little weight. But when this passage is taken in conjunction with similar expression of views, and is shown to coincide with existent interests and conditions of the poet's life, it gains the credence due to (at least) a fleeting mood. But the sedulous suit made to Elizabeth and her nobles by the poet on the occasion of his visit to

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[1] VI, xx sq.; Cf. Ger. Lib.

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court under the patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh, and his return there in 1596 (n.s.) precludes the idea of any depth or earnestness in such sentiments.

Since the premises of interpretation have been defined, it is possible to proceed to some analysis of the poet's character.

Spenser was a scholar. The record of his attendance at the Merchant Taylors' School and at Cambridge gives a basis of solid fact for this assertion. His almost certain identification with the translator of Petrarch and Du Bellay in Van der Noodt's Theatre is evidence of his precocity. His intimate association with the learned Harvey, and admission, for a time at least, to the circle of Sidney, attest his interest in learning and letters. His writings give almost incredible proof of the breadth and readiness of his knowledge. To the execution of his task he has brought the aid of every branch of literature, and this not in the guise of mere reference or borrowing, but with a true infiltration of spirit and matter. To subject Spenser's writings to an acid test which would burn out Platonism, (not merely the religion of beauty, but ethic and politic concept,) would be to leave a scoriated mass. This same might be said of other features; take out the web of delicate romance, what would be left? The counsel of Horace and Vida he has extended to all times and matters. He places antiquarian lore beside contemporary literature, philosophy beside romance, history beside myth, and science beside superstition.

This was done, too, in an age when the author did not have at hand large libraries for ready reference; yet few indeed have been the errors which modern scholarship has detected in his learning. One point, however, should be noted here. The age of Spenser did not

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demand exactness of reference, nor did it regard sanctity of authorship; hence a certain freedom in crossing both references and ideas may be assigned not so much to a failure of memory, as to a lack of responsibility, the use of secondary authorities, and the teachings of invention. Aside from this slight militation, the knowledge of science and history, the broad underlying philosophy, and teeming allusion give evidence of prodigious learning, a marvellous memory, and facile assimilation.[1] His was the type of learning held in reverence by the Renaissance, the requisite of a gentleman and a poet.

To this accumulation of fact must be added the knowledge which it has been the function of this thesis to demonstrate. He had at command not only an untold wealth of material, but the literary science of that material. He knew the laws of its composition and the nature of its being; and as the magician can rule the unruly elements and bind them to his will, so could Spenser subdue the warring elements of genres to harmony and accord, and lead a stubborn language as a lamb in leash.

If learning was an ideal of the Renaissance, it was because in that practical age it was a road to preferment. To Spenser's Platonic

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[1] In regard to this matter, the Glosse of E.K. is testimony the value of which should be neither disregarded nor minimized. Whether it be the work of Spenser or another, it could not have been prepared without the poet's knowledge and approval. It is a telling comment on his learning and method. For it evinces not only wide and intimate acquaintance with the classics and mythology, but establishes by direct reference or quotation a close relation to sources. (Mch.Ec., l.40; Feb.Ec.,l.33; Apr.Ec.,l.104; May Ec.,l.57; July Ec.,l.85.) The existence of this relation as pointed out by E.K.,in minor and unexpected matters,as in figures (Apr.Ec.,l.46; June Ec.,l.25; Sept.Ec., l.54; Oct.Ec.,l.93;l.98,l.105),and in seemingly chance references, (Mch.Ec.,l.33; June Ec.,l.43; July Ec.,l.12,l.91; Aug.Ec.,l.19; Oct. Ec.,l.21 and l.27; Nov.Ec.,l.186; Dec.Ec.,l.84), is illuminating illustration of the poet's method, and corroberates what has been stated elsewhere in this thesis of that method. Nor is this breadth of knowledge and facility of allusion confined to the classics, for the same notes include information as to common custom, literary convention, and current theory.

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philosophy it was a qualification for statesmanship. His aspirations were not realized in his secretaryship to Lord Grey de Wilton in wretched distracted Ireland. But the grim hints of poverty in the items of his school and college would indicate the young poet was in no position to choose or refuse. The suggestion in a letter to Harvey of business abroad "for his lordship" came, so far as is known, to naught, and in the dedicatory sonnet to Leicester prefixed to the paraphrase of Vergil's Gnat, there is unmistakable reproach for undeserved wrong. In the light of this, the poem may be readily interpreted as a semi-humorous, semi-serious complaint of wrong done in return for service. This wrong has been commonly believed to be the young poet's exile to Ireland in consequence of his over zealous championship of Leicester's cause with Elizabeth.

Whatever may have been the motive forces behind his appointment, Spenser went to Ireland in the summer of 1580. There for nearly twenty years, he was a man of affairs. In less than a year after his arrival,[1] he purchased from his friend Ludovick Bryskett the office of Clerk of the Faculties in the Court of Chancery of the City of Dublin. The public records of Ireland trace his career[2] until his final return to England in the autumn of 1598. These records point to an active life. Not only is he found discharging the duties of his offices as secretary and registrar, but there are business ventures on his own account. He receives grants, purchases and sells leases, and ostensibly for his own use, leases a house in Dublin for the space of six years. In 1586 he is found among the list of Undertakers, with a grant of some three thousand acres. This was the poet's domain of

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[1] Mch. 22, 1581

[2] For details and authorities, see Grosart's Ed. of Spenser, V. I; P. M. Buck: New Facts on Spenser's Life, M. L. N., V. 19, p. 237 sq.

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Kilcolman. Two years later he resigned his clerkship of the Chancery, and purchased a second office from Bryskett, that of the Clerk of the Council of Munster. This he held until 1593. His last political office in Ireland was that of Sheriff of Cork, to which he was appointed just prior to the sack of Kilcolman. The exact value in pecuniary returns from Irish offices and Irish lands is very uncertain. Nor does the financial success of the poet greatly concern us. The point at stake is the business activity established by these ventures. Moreover, his legal disputes with Lord Roche betray a man awake to his own rights, and unwilling to abate any fraction of them. The strongest evidence of Spenser's practical bent has, however, been reserved for the last, and is not a mere matter of implication. His Veue of the Present State of Ireland, couched as it is under form of philosophical discussion, is the work of a practical and rather hard politician, with a disillusioned insight into the ways of men, and with a dispassionate pragmatism drawn from Aristotle.

Those who have thought of Spenser merely as a poet of boundless imagination and limitless capacity for melodious verse must revise their image to include the conception of a broad scholar and practical man.

These two characters are essential parts of that type called the man of the Renaissance. In the fullness of their development they establish Spenser's right to the title, and open the way for a consideration of other features.

Spenser was a courtier and sought preferment. According to his standards such an aim was not only legitimate, but its success was mere justice. He held the Platonic, and equally Renaissance, conception that the ultimate goal of every man of culture and ambition should be statesmanship; as a corrolary of this view, he held the classic and equally Renaissance idea of the poet's right to patron-

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age.[1] Such conception made his ambition laudable, and placed his suit above mere idle sycophancy. His flattery of Elizabeth and her great nobles, fulsome though it may seem to modern ears, was the language of courtly compliment, which may be paralleled hundreds of times in Italian literature, and in degree in English. That through compliment Spenser sought to please and win favor is not denied, but the servility which is sometimes attributed to him is wholly absent. Further, from the standpoint of the above statements, his complaints of ill fortune express not so much a peevish bitterness of spirit as an arraignment of justice.

There is, indeed, much in his work which asserts a sturdy independence of spirit. There is no hint of timidity or sycophancy in the satire of the Shepherds Calendar or of Mother Hubbard's Tale. His paraphrase of Vergil's Gnat, with its semi-humorous tone and the wholly unmistakable reproach of the dedicatory sonnet to Leicester, has a delightfully blended air of courtesy and frankness. His dedicatory sonnet to Burleigh is a masterpiece of reserve. It has the courtesy of a host to an unwelcome guest. The form is perfect, the spirit is lacking. It is as if he said to himself, "I am spreading a feast for all noble men. Here is one man whom I do not like and who does not like me, but he is the trusted and honored servant of my Queen. He does most of her work, and, by Jove, he makes a pretty good job of it. He will probably criticise the food if he comes, but it will be a needless insult not to invite him." So he writes:

"To you, right noble Lord, whose carefull brest
To menage of most grave affaires is bent,
And on whose mightie shoulders most doth rest
The burdein of this kingdomes governement,

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[1] V. Argument, October Aeglogue.

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As the wide compasse of the firmament
On Atlas mighty shoulders is upstayd,
Unfitly I these ydle rimes present,
The labor of lost time and wit unstayd:
Yet if their deeper sence be inly wayd,
And the dim vele, with which from comune vew
Their fairer parts are hid, aside be layd,
Perhaps not vaine they may appeare to you.
Such as they be, vouchsafe them to receave,
And wipe their faults out of your censure grave."

There is no word in this sonnet, which has in it the English sense of fairness to an opponent, that will clash with his earlier or later thrusts at Burleigh; but its reserve should be contrasted with the warmth of the preceding sonnet addressed

"To thee that art the sommers Nightingale"--

Raleigh. The prologue to the second part of the Faerie Queene is addressed largely to Burleigh. The great peer has again disapproved the poet's rhymes, and in reply he writes that the "grave foresight" which

"Welds kingdomes causes and affaires of state"

judges ill of the love it no longer feels, and that not to such "Stoick censors" does he sing,--

"But to that sacred saint my soveraigne Queene."

Again he yields to Burleigh the respect due his office, but with fearless frankness condemns the councillor's point of view and defends his own.

In yet another character Spenser displays his spirit of manly independence. Friendship was not only an Aristotelian virtue and a chivalric ideal, but a cherished feature of the social life of

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the Renaissance. In his early work Spenser voiced the cause of his friends, but these efforts pale before the fearlessness and earnestness of his defence of Lord Grey de Wilton. The dedicatory sonnet to Grey stands out from the courtly compliment of the rest as a noble expression of gratitude, and when Spenser writes:

"Vouchsafe in worth this small guift (the sonnet)
to receave,
Which in your noble hands for pledge I leave,
Of all the rest that I am tyde t'account,"--

he promises the defence found in his Book of Justice. There is no need to over-estimate the depth of the disgrace into which Grey had fallen. Ireland was the same problem it is today, and other men had been recalled who had failed to grapple successfully with its difficulties. But he was in disfavor, and his administration had been maligned. Therefore there could have been no more noble proof of generous loyalty than the form in which Spenser offered his defence; for in making a dishonored favorite the titular hero of a book in the Faerie Queene, the poet risked not only the favor of the group upon whose favor he was dependent, but the success of his great work. The fearlessness, moreover, with which he defends the man, his policy and actions, attests the strength of his friendship and the deep seated sincerity of his sense of justice.

Spenser has left us another proof of his innate loyalty which, though very different from that just cited, should not go unmarked. This is his defence of Elizabeth's conduct toward the unfortunate Mary of Scotland. Perhaps no black deed ever had a more simply beautiful defence than that which Spenser makes of his queen in the scene at the Court of Mercilla.[1] It is the defence which a noble man makes

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[1] F.Q., Bk. V, C. IX

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to his own soul for the sin of his beloved.

In vindicating Spenser's loyalty to friendship, it is necessary to touch upon another matter which has been cited to his discredit. This is his long silence in regard to Sidney's death, and the perfunctory tone of his elegy when it appeared. Sidney died in 1586. The Ruines of Time was published in 1591, Astrophel in 1595. This delay has been made the basis for a theory of estrangement between Spenser and his patron Sidney. The matter awakes a long haunting doubt as to the degree of intimacy existing between the two. The hesitancy with which the former receives Harvey's suggestion that he dedicate some of his work to Sidney comes with curious insistence to the mind. He has heard of no new books "but only of one, that writing a certaine booke called The Schoole of Abuse, and dedicating it to Maister Sidney, was for hys labor scorned; if at leaste it be in the goodnesse of that nature to scorne.--------- Suche mighte I happily incurre, entituling Ly Slomber, and the other pamphlets, unto his honor."[1] Neither does his earlier "they have me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity"[2] imply that the gap between the brilliant but impecunious young scholar, and the aristocratic Sidney, had been bridged by any warmth of friendship. Nor does Sidney's reserved comment upon the Shepherds Calendar carry any suggestion of personal relationship with the author. Undoubtedly Sidney, as a patron of letters, had admitted the young poet to his circle, but the degree of sympathetic friendship between the two remains unprobed.

In a dedicatory letter to the Countess of Pembroke, with which the Ruines of Time is prefaced, as well as in a sonnet to her, which is included among those prefacing the Faerie Queene, Spenser's appreciation of Sidney finds frank and dignified expression. The quality

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[1] V. Supra., C. V.

[2] Letter to Harvey, Oct., 1579.

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of both the Ruines of Time and Astrophel is too conventional to demand consideration. The warmth of gratitude expressed by Spenser toward Grey stands in sharp contrast with his reserve toward Sidney. The difficulty of the situation, and the slur upon Spenser's loyalty probably arise from an error in positing a strong friendship between the poet and his early patron. The clue lies in the former's own words: "there bee long sithens deepe sowed in my brest the seede of most entire love and humble affection unto that most brave knight, your noble brother deceased; which taking roote began in his life time somewhat to bud forth, and to shew themselves to him, as then in the weakness of their first spring; and would in their riper strength (had it pleased High God till then to drawe out his daies) spired forth fruit of more perfection." These words imply a briefness of association or incipiency of friendship which would scarcely justify Spenser in including himself in the sorrowing circle of Sidney's friends. Upon request, however, he revives these early associations, and strives to commemorate the noble names of his early patrons. By those who prefer to believe that Spenser's long silence betokened estrangement, it should be well noted that in the case of either wounded feeling or disappointed hopes, the silence preserved by Spenser bears the stamp of manly dignity.

We have thus far discovered Spenser to be a scholar, an active man of affairs, a courtier, and a sincere and fearless friend. Another character commonly assigned to him as overshadowing the rest is that of Puritan. To weigh minutely the evidence for and against this theory is here impossible. It can be touched upon only in broad lines, but must be approached from two angles; the first is Spenser's denominational affiliation which if strongly developed would inevitably have influenced the second, his religious temperament. The term

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Puritan in the age of Elizabeth was political rather than religious. It more frequently denoted the stand on Church division than an exaggerated personal piety. Leicester was a Puritan; history records of him no squeamishness as regards morals or women. Yet Spenser's scenes of sensuous beauty are apologized for and explained away. There is no clear expression of sect preference in Spenser's work. The themes of his eclogues are largely borrowed, a fact which does not destroy, but militates a personal point of view. Moreover, his religious satire is a general castigation of abuses, rather than an attack upon a certain party, and, as is consistent with his dominating interest in individual development, turns upon the unworthy individual, the inefficient discharge of duty, and the abuse of office. Hence, the ground for definite deduction is slight. There is a distinct attack upon the High Church party in the person of Aylmer (Morrell), and a defence of the moderates in Grindal (Algrind) and Young (Roffin). This defence may have been, however, based upon purely personal grounds, for Grindal was the patron of Harvey, and Spenser was himself at one time secretary to Young. The satire of Mother Hubbard's Tale is again general, but more particularly directed against the vicious and ignorant priesthood. The satire against the Roman Church is extended to the Faerie Queene, where, too, in the last book, may be found distinct pronouncements against the Puritans. The lack of definite evidence, in his poetic works, that Spenser is a Puritan, is an argument in itself that he is not. Further, in the absence of definitive evidence to the contrary, it is fair to conclude that the stand of a moderate Churchman is infinitely more consonant with Spenser's personal reserve and political and social conservatism, than any extreme.

There is, moreover, one bit of evidence which, coming from a different source, and being the serious and direct utterance of

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Spenser himself, seems to establish the fact that the poet had no sectarian affiliation, or else none other than the automatic one posited above.

In his treatise on the government of Ireland, the interlocutor, Eudoxus, asks what order of religion should be established. Irenius (Spenser) replies: "For religion lytle have I to ſay, myſelfe beinge as I ſayde[1] not profeſſed therin, and yt ſelfe beinge but one, o as there is but one waye therin; for that which is true onely is, and the rest are not at all,-----."[2] So far as this statement goes, it seems to say clearly that the poet rejects doctrinal divisions, and looks only to the one central truth of Christianity. Such a view would be in keeping with the breadth of his philosophic conceptions. The remainder of the discussion seems to favor the establishment of the Protestant faith, although he praises the zeal and earnestness of the Popiſh Prieſts, and bitterly condemns "our idle ministers", which neither for the love of God, zeal of religion, nor for the good they might do, can "be drawne forth from theire warme neaſts and theire ſwete loves ſydes." For which, he says, "doubtlesse these good ould fathers [St. Patrick and St. Colomb] will, I feare me, rife uppe in the day of judgement to condemne them."

The above evidence would seem to establish definitively Spenser's conservative attitude in sectarian matters. It would also seem to shed a strong light on the second phase of the question, his religious temperament; for a man who is free from sectarian prejudice is not apt to be hampered by other petty religious scruples.

The point of the argument here reached is delicate and pivotal. It is not intended to imply that Spenser was without religion nor loose

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[1] No previous such statement is to be found.

[2] A Veue of the Present State of Ireland, pp. 242-4.

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in morals, but it is intended to ask: Was he the subject of a religious emotion which centred his thoughts upon the hereafter, and tainted with mortal sin pleasure in beauty and in his senses? Or did he, knowing that men must live in a world of men, accept the social standards of his age, and enjoy his senses as frankly as did his friends and companions? The literary interest which prompts these questions is the fact that some of Spenser's most artistic passages, those most lovingly and lingeringly depicted, have been by some regarded as an offense to the poet's moral sense, and included only through the exigencies of the material. The vital question is, were these sensual scenes an offense or delight to the poet?

Since the Faerie Queene is his only work with a distinctly ethic purpose, it is through its teaching that a final decision must be reached as to the precise nature of Spenser's religious temperament. But before entering upon a consideration of that, a bit of significant evidence must be introduced from another source.

In the Latin letter written by Spenser to Harvey, he represents himself as sighing and languishing, robbed of his will by sweet love. Harvey writes in reply[1] that, letting other matters pass, he will come to the point which "ſo neare toucheth my luſty Trauayler (Spenser) to the quicke, and is one of the praedominant humors y^t raigne in our common youths: Alas, you noble wooer, you great lover of little women,[2] you egregious Pamphilus. However, consider what finally awaits you, you who love all women, the whole sex of womanhood! Look to the end. And I ſhal then be content to appeale to your owne learned experience whether it be or be not too too true: what has been said by me often,

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[1] Two Other--Letters, p.25.

[2] Muliercula, mused with contempt.-A favorite word with Cicero.

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by yourself sometimes, by all experienced ones daily: To love is bitter. Not a good, as they say, is Love, but bitterness & error: & whatever empirics are wont to add to the same sentiment. But know you, as far as I am concerned, Agrippa seems to have corrected that famous Ovidian work, de Arte Amandi, and to have more deservedly written de Arte Meretricandi. Nor has another ineptly compared lovers to alchemists dreaming delightfully of mountains of gold and silver, and of fountains, but meanwhile almost blinded, and even suffocated by the dense fumes of the charcoal; besides that celebrated Paradise of Adam, he has said there is another, the wonderful Paradise of fools and lovers: truly that, fantastically and fanatically this is the abode of the blessed. But of these matters, elsewhere perhaps more fruitfully." Here Harvey breaks off his fantastic Latin composition, but not without a warning: "Credite me, I will neuer liuue baityng at you til I haue rid you quite of this yonkerly & womanly humor."

At the close of Spenser's letter of April ninth, written from Westminster, he desires Harvey to write to his little sweetheart, who for a long time has been wondering that no reply has come to her letters. In a later letter, Harvey promises as early a reply as possible to the most delicate letters of "thy sweetheart." He sends as many salutes and salutations as there are hairs, gold, silver, and gemmy, on her little head. Why do you complain, he asks, with another little Rosalind for thy Venus? He vows his affection, and closes,-- "O mea Domina Immerito, mea belliffima Collina Clouta, multò plus plurimum ſalue, atque vale."

The passages quoted above are humorous. It is not intended to foist an intrigue upon Spenser nor to undermine his moral character, but to place assembled facts before the reader. And surely the one who reads will not judge the man who wrote, and to whom these letters

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were written, as a staid Puritan refusing the joys of life and love. The picture of the exacting, golden-haired little sweetheart, who fed her vanity with flattery wrested from the grave pedant, and with the homage of the young poet, is too vivid for that. But these passages do not determine Spenser's character; they but give a fleeting glimpse of a minor phase,--a flash light, as it were, of his lighter moments; and it is to his life-work, the Faerie Queene, with its multifarious phases, that we must turn for the truest revelation of the poet's nature.

The critical necessity of allegoric significance has been discussed. There was in the age a critical demand for a Christian epic, which Spenser sought to meet, but there was also a philosophy of life which constituted an absorbing interest in the period. To regard the courtesy books as manuals of polite society is an elemental error. They were hand-books of individualism, in which personal development was made an avenue to social influence and political preferment. This personal development was, in a degree, a philosophy of life directed to practical ends. There existed a clear relationship between this idea and the general conception of the Faerie Queene; but to designate the latter as a courtesy book is to infinitely belittle a great work.

The point at issue here is the proportionate influence in the poem of philosophy and of religion. The ethics of Christianity and of Paganism often meet on common ground. In the Faerie Queene they are amalgamated, but the dominant note is a literary phase of paganism rather than an earnest exposition of Christian piety. The virtues and their combination as treated by Spenser are essentially the conception of pagan philosophy, and although the first book is given a genuine Christian coloring, even this is made the medium of another pagan conception. The Knight of the Red Cross wears the armor of a Christian

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man (in its immediate source it is the magic armor of romance), and is the patron of the Christian virtue Holiness. But this virtue, like the armor, has a closer antecedent. It is in Plato the virtue of a man who has concern for his soul, and who through the stedfast practice of virtue and through contemplation, rises to the greatest heights of philosophy. The adventures of the knight constitute the mediaeval allegory of the pilgrimage of the soul. This in the Middle Ages had largely lost the Platonic flavor which it held among the early Christian Fathers, but this element Spenser has restored. The story of the Red Cross Knight and Una, despite its Christian color and symbolism, embodies the theory of Platonic love. The love of the Knight for Una has no hint of earthly passion. He deems her

> "To bee the chastest flowre that aye did spring
> On earthly braunch the daughter of a king"---

and his love for her beauty and purity inspires him until through various steps of advance he reaches "Hevenly Contemplation."[1] Here his soul attains such heights of exaltation that he exclaims:

> "O let me not,------, then turne againe
> Backe to the world, whose joyes so fruitless are,
> But let me heare for aie in peace remaine,
> Or streight way on that last long voiage fare."
>
> I,x,63.

He still has, however, his crowning feat to perform. In slaying the dragon, he conquers the powers of sin and death, and in his betrothal to Una is typified the bridal of the Church and the Lamb, but through this same betrothal is also consummated his Platonic reunion with divinity.

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[1] I,x,46 sq.

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An Hymne of Heavenly Love and An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie reveal how thoroughly Spenser has amalgamated his Platonic and Christian conceptions. Moreover, since the two last-named poems professedly seek to clothe Christian sentiment in the garb of Pagan theory, the similarity of ideas and phraseology existing between them and the Booke of Holinesse go far to prove that Spenser in his presentation of a theme which under an exterior of romance combined Christian, social and political allegory, held also in his mental intention an expression of the Platonic theory of love. Such a superimposition of motifs is too eminently characteristic of the poet to arouse suspicion. Certain Christian features of this book,--the precious box of healing ointment given by Arthur to the Red Cross Knight, and the symbolic sacrament and baptism in the progress of the dragon fight--were introduced into Spenser's work by way of the romances in which they were originally found.

Other passages of the Faerie Queene in which a strong religious sentiment is expressed may be divided into two classes; in one, the sentiments are fitted by decorum to the lips of the speaker, as in the profoundly moral utterances of the Palmer (Bk.II); in the other, the reflective moralization is built on equally conventional lines, and becomes a sort of homily on the immediately succeeding incidents of the story.

In the discussion of Spenser's use of Biblical material, while his familiarity with the genre and his facility in its use is equal to that in any other, it was shown that the proportion as compared to other genres was small. It was also pointed out that biblical material did not enter into the body of the work, nor motivate incident. More significant yet is the tone of all religious expression. It is true the emotional key of the Faerie Queene is tuned to a low pitch, but at

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no time does Spenser strike a deep note of religious conviction, nor rise to a high expression of that faith which is the aesthetic soul of the religious life. It is, therefore, firmly concluded that the Christian religion constitutes but a minor interest in Spenser's conception of his poem, that it is introduced at need as an aesthetic asset and critical concession, but that it constitutes no evidence other than negative of the inner life of the poet.

This assertion is not to be interpreted as an attack upon Spenser's religious convictions; it is but an earnest effort to seek from the evidence at hand a just sense of values. His high moral purpose is at no time impugned; the emotional character of his religion alone is questioned. As a philosopher and scholar, Spenser's interest in ethics and classic literature overshadowed a more commonplace interest in religion. The age had not awakened to the literary value of the Bible; the time lay just between two periods of religious exaltation. The Renaissance was an age of action rather than introspection; therefore the man of the Renaissance large accepted his religious beliefs with the stamp of authority, without the deeper experience of doubt or conviction.

In the light of extant evidence, positive and negative, it has been concluded that Spenser was a conservative Churchman. As such, his acceptance of religious tenets was probably without question, and without an emotional experience which would inspire his muse. Hence, we are prepared for the fact that an examination of the Faerie Queene reveals a work in which literary and philosophic interests overshadow a purely religious element. If there is no note of deep earnestness, there is equally no note of narrow prejudice. The poem stands as a monument of high ethic thought, and reveals Spenser as a man of noble mind and serious purpose. But to accredit him with a squeamish

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Puritanism is to violate all evidence, and to discredit his breadth as a scholar, his taste as an artist, and his attitude as a man of the Renaissance.

One more phase of evidence is yet to be added. Spenser's classical training, and his whole pagan and aesthetic delight in beauty would have been incompatible with the strong Puritan prejudice often attributed to him. Of this delight there can be no question. His pictures of sensuous scenes are drawn with a lingering touch and a loving elaboration which leave no place for doubt. He is both sensuous and sensual, but his very sensuality has a delicacy which places it in a world of artistic creation. His senses are trained to an exquisite response to all suggestion of beauty, and in this delight in sensation blend the mental and physical.

No discussion of Spenser's sensuous imagination can be adequate which does not include his Epithalamion. The man of the Renaissance breathes in every line. It is not the paean of youth rapt in a half-mystical, spiritual love; it is the song of maturity, delicate yet sensual. The poet revels in an exquisite rapture of anticipation. There is no need for haste. The man has rested his soul. The mother of his children will come to him not in mystery, but in fulfillment of all desire. And as he toys with his senses in a curious double contemplation of mental and physical pleasure, we lose the philosopher and scholar, the man of affairs, the courtier, the friend, and pass to that greatest Spenser of all, the poet.

It as a poet that Spenser is and will be remembered. The men of the preceding study are merged and lost in the poet, yet through those men we must interpret the poet and his achievement.

It is to the philosopher and scholar that is due that magnificent breadth of mind and genius of comprehension which could sweep into one

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work a system of ethic philosophy, a triple scheme of allegory, a teemingly varied romance, and clothe all with the riches drawn from a world's literature. It was the man of the world and the courtier who filled the pages with political allusion and with most flattering adulation. It was the friend and gentleman who spoke boldly and loyally in defence of the wronged. It was the critic who endued each line with finished art, and brought to his own aid every device of literary craftsmanship. It was to the quick spirit of the Renaissance which bred a man alive to all the possibilities of life, to the joy of achievement, to the pleasures both of the senses and of the intellect, that we owe the exquisite sensibility with which Spenser responded to every stimulus of the beautiful. Here again we find our poet.

Spenser's own conception of the poet and his work is of vital importance to us. E.K. has told us that in Cuddie is set forth the very pattern of a perfect poet, but he does not say wherein this perfection consists, and the glimpse of Cuddie is fleeting. If therefore we would learn Spenser's true ideal of the poet and of poetry, we must turn to what we have learned in our study of the Faerie Queene, and from its results seek to recreate not the phraseology but the principles of The English Poet.

The true poet is endowed by nature with high and special gifts, which must be fostered by great learning and trained by diligent art. By right of such endowment and training he was a teacher and leader among men, entitled to public patronage and executive power.

The ideal and true function of poetry is instruction, but to this, as a practical necessity, must be added pleasure. Allegory is a critical necessity in effecting a conjunction between the two functions of poetry, instruction and pleasure. The more subtle this allegory, the greater is the instruction and the pleasure, and the greater the art of the poet.

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The two great principles of creation are imitation and invention. Imitation is the means through which perfection is to be attained. To the poet, the treasures of all literature are legitimate spoil. These he must seek and collect night and day. Invention is not the creation of new material, but the combination of the old under a changed form, that it may present the appearance of the new.

The poet must begin with the pastoral, and advance with increasing skill to higher forms. The epic is the noblest form of poetry. It must convey a great lesson, be of high and serious theme, and have noble characters. But as a picture of the world it must in moderation comprise all conditions and degrees. The old romances constitute suitable epic material. Its great and special capacity is extension, its greatest charm variety. Such unity must be observed that one episode may seem to grow naturally from another.

The epic is especially adapted to receive all the ornaments of a high and noble style. The use of sentence adds peculiar dignity. All figures of rhetoric must be at the poet's command, but are to be used in moderation. The marvellous is a suitable ornament for epic, but must be used with discretion. Verisimilitude is to be carefully preserved. This principle prefers the probable impossible to the improbable possible. All things universally accepted as true through tradition or literary inheritance fall within the limits of verisimilitude, although they are known to be fiction.

Akin to verisimilitude is decorum. This is the adaptation of manner and speech to character and condition. Decorum is to be preserved although it involve the violation of other critical principles.

The English language is harsh and rude, but as the Latin was subdued to a flexible harmony equal to that of Greek, so by diligence and labor may the stubborn English be subdued. It is the duty of the poet

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to strive to enrich his native tongue by the restoration of good English terms fallen into disuse, and by drawing to its service the words of the provinces.

As the Latin and Greek have a law of their own poetry, so may the English have a law of its own.

Rhyme is the sweet mistress of poetry. It is better adapted to the nature of the English tongue than is classic measure, and in combination with accent, it challenges the skill of the poet to an equal or greater degree than does metre.

The true poet is gifted with both genius and inspiration, but as art without nature is barren, so genius and inspiration without art are bare and cold. Art lends beauty, grace and charm. It controls thought and language. It weaves the harmonies of sound into line and measure. It draws together the riches of a world of art and of all nature, so that it creates as it were another nature, higher and better than its own.

Such in brief is Spenser's conception of the poet and poetry as we have studied the theme in his great work. Through these conceptions he wrought permanently, as indeed he sought to do, for his national literature. Sidney had in his Defense of Poesy introduced from Italy a more advanced phase of criticism than England had yet known; but the creation of the Faerie Queene was the great critical event of the century.

Spenser's specific achievements in the field of criticism were a final justification of the vernacular as a flexible medium of literary expression, and a complete justification of imaginative literature. He undermined the sovereignty of allegory through the freedom and art with which he handled the genre. He helped establish the right to combine various literary genres, and inaugurated a freer

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handling of all material. He broke the trammels of Latin versification, and gave freedom to verse and stanzaic form. He endowed English poetry with a musical quality hitherto unknown. He created a poetic language for all time, and established a standard of art, beauty and melody which later poets have striven to attain.

Through his work he transplanted to England the critical culture of Italy and France, and more than any other he reincorporated in vernacular literature the treasures of the classics. Above all, he effected a reconciliation between the popular literature of his day and a cultured and artistic form. Literature drew new life and vigor from the springs of popular creation. The crude matter of the people received artistic form, and was decked with the graces of culture. This interchange is the very triumph of criticism, for through it the processes of selection and variation tend toward the evolution of a higher genre. It is because of all these things, and because of the exceeding grace and delicacy of his art, appreciable only to craftsmen like himself, that he has been most discerningly called "the poet's poet."

In the foregoing discussion an effort has been made to set aside the conventional conception of Spenser, and through a study of the phases of his character as revealed in his work, to arrive at a truer knowledge of the man. He stands before us an intensely human figure, both the product and exemplar of his age. To a man of less varied accomplishment, and less perfect intellectual control, the composition of the Faerie Queene would have been impossible. Into each phase of his work went some phase of his own nature, and thus through a double reflection, the Faerie Queene stands as a mirror of its age. If Spenser has not been revealed to us as a great man with a soul burning with the white flame of consecrated purpose, neither is he besmirched

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by any secret baseness of life or spirit. He is an honorable man of noble character and high attainments; thus let him be called simply as he was written in his own age,--gentleman.

As a poet, again, he was not great, if greatness must utter a clarion call to rouse the soul,or sound the depths of human emotion. But when we pause to consider the infinite riches of his mind, his wonderful capacity for seeing, hearing, and imparting beauty and melody, and the limitless creation of his imagination, we reverse o our decision. If not great, what was he?

The Faerie Queene is not a great epic as compared with the universal appeal of the Odyssey; but with its wealth of variety, its bizarre creations, its beautiful scenes, and with its exquisite workmanship, which heaps up jewels of art on every side, it will be a treasure house for all ages. Its soft cadences will haunt the brain of many a poet yet unborn, and many will revel in that strange world of Faerie, into which, charmed by the poet's art, they will enter without a doubt of its reality.

In the feats of the noble knights and in the sorrows of the lovely ladies which people its pages, this great court romance--the greatest of all its kind---will keep alive the memory of a world that once was but now is long since passed, for if the work of Chaucer has been justly called the "twilight of chivalry", surely the work of Spenser is its afterglow.

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The Reflection of Renaissance Criticism in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

An Abstract of a Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Literature
In Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Department of English
By
E. F. Pope.

Foreword: The reduction of a thesis of so wide a scope as that indicated by the title to the prescribed limits of this abstract has precluded adequate presentation of matter and method. The method followed in the original thesis has been:

1. To state the specific problems as it appeared in the *Faerie Queene*.
2. To trace this problem from its inception, through its growth or modification in classic criticism, if necessary, and in Renaissance criticism as developed in Italy, France and England.
3. To note divergent and parallel theories.
4. To make an application of the theories ~~commonly~~ to Spenser's practice.

Any value that the thesis may have lies in the cumulative evidence of critical theory. As it is impossible, in an abstract, to indicate such development, the writer appends merely a brief summary of each chapter.

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Introduction: It is the purpose of this thesis to study the critical theories which determined the form, the content, and the style of the Faerie Queene. During the Renaissance, critical interest was universal and wide in scope. With the rediscovery of the classics there arose a strong desire to create new national literatures in emulation of the Greek and the Latin. Men learned that Latin literature had come into being through the study and imitation of the Greek. With classic principles as a basis criticism rose to the dignity of an independent genre. The eagerness of scholars urged them to a consideration of the most minute details. Criticism became prescriptive. The Aristotelian theory of imitation was applied not only to nature and life, but to the writings of the great, and invention came to denote adaptation rather than creation. The theories of imitation and invention became dominant features of the new criticism. There were two methods of application; either old material was molded into new form, or new material was cast into old form.

Materials for experiment were at hand. Between the ninth and fourteenth centuries there had grown up in various countries of Europe a vast body of popular literature, rich in legend, in invention and in human experience, but shapeless in form and crude in expression. It was the task of the Renaissance to subdue this material to the rules of art. The several vernaculars were inadequate for artistic expression. To refine and enrich these

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vernaculars in emulation of the flexible Greek and stately Latin became a stock problem.

Since the literary criticism of the period cannot be divorced from a definite moral purpose or, at least, an ethical point of view, it has been deemed necessary to include in the following discussion both the criticism of literature and the criticism of life ~~in the discussion~~. This double function of criticism broadens the scope of the work at the expense of unity.

Chapter I. Spenser as an exponent of criticism:

The Faerie Queene is characterized throughout by the elaboration of a painstaking art. Since art is the concomitant of the critical attitude of its own age, in the Faerie Queene may be traced the principles upon which it has been constructed.

Spenser ~~was of~~ had a strong critical bias. His long training and his association with learned and literary men attest the critical atmosphere in which he developed. The revision in content, expression, and metric form of his early work; the experimental nature of the Shepheards Calendar; the Glosse by E. K. appended thereto; the letters exchanged between the poet and Harvey; the letter to Raleigh which prefaces the Faerie Queene, all bear witness of his critical methods. Spenser's technical work, The English Poets, is lost, but throughout his writings appear passages which denote an alert critical consciousness, and which present not merely literary theory but a phase of life or a point of view that has become conventionalized and accepted as a part of contemporary

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criticism. His " Hymnes " of " Heavenly Love " and " Heavenly Beautie " as contrasted with those of " Earthly Love " and " Earthly Beautie " aptly illustrate the last theory stated. His free borrowing and rehandling of material prove him an adept in the principles of <u>imitation</u> and <u>invention</u>.

Chapter II. Spenser's aim and choice of subject:

The moral justification of imaginative literature was a matter of primary significance in the Renaissance. It had been discussed in turn by the Greeks, the Alexandrians, and the Romans. With the early Christian era interest in the matter redoubled, and with the revival of learning the problem woke anew.

The specific problem of the subject matter and purpose of the epic had its inception in the difference between the epics of Hesiod and of Homer. The former taught; the latter gave pleasure. This difference was recognized and discussed by Aristotle. Plato, in his strictures upon poets, was interpreted as the champion of the moral function of poetry, and was so cited throughout the Renaissance. Moreover, when Aristotle formulated his theories of criticism, on the basis of existing literature, he declared poetry to be a higher and more philosophical form of literature than history since it deals with the universal and represents things as they ought to be, rather than as they are; he thus assigned to poetry a definite moral function, but in also admitting the aesthetic quality of poetry he gave authority for the subsequent

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differentiation of theories.

Horace recognized two distinct classes of poetry, the one didactic, the other hedonistic, but he united the two in a theory of pleasurable instruction. He also ascribed two other functions to poetry, the first to win the smiles of Kings, the second to attain fame and its benefits. Succeeding critics carried on these traditions with varying emphasis upon the moral or the aesthetic nature of poetry. An allegoric significance and a moral purpose was, however, during the Renaissance, attributed to all epics; hence, when Spenser conceived his epic in terms of moral instruction rather than as a great poem grounded on heroic action he was acting under direct and definite critical influence.

The Faerie Queene is not, however, solely a moral allegory; it is a romance designed to delight the reader with variety of episode and with beauty of form and expression. It is, moreover, a court poem, filled with adulation for the sovereign and her courtiers, and with political allusion. In these political features is shown the practical side of the Renaissance; and the poet seeks through the favor of the great his only road to political preferment. These three phases of Spenser's work, the moral, the aesthetic, and the political, rest upon a sound basis of contemporary criticism as formulated in Italy, France, and England.

Chapter III. Spenser's ethic and political philosophy:

The tradition of the philosophic function of poetry which was

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carried on as a corollary of literature in the various periods of its development, from Aristotle to Sidney and Bruno, found elaborate expression in Spenser. The poet's scheme had its inspiration in the Nicomachean Ethics, in which Aristotle develops his whole system of moral philosophy through a consideration of the specific ethic virtues, their means, variants, and opposites, and in conclusion carries his moral speculations to the borders of politics in the person of the statesman and in the executive function of statesmanship. Spenser, however, In the development of his plan ~~however, Spenser~~ shows the influence of Platonic, Neo-Platonic, and Christian ideals, and a modified conception of the virtues as codified in the Middle Ages, and as later embodied in popular dialogues, letters, civil and political discourses, and in courtesy-books. In his presentation of Magnificence he follows a later tradition which confounds this virtue with the Aristotelian conception of Magnanimity. Holiness is drawn directly from Plato, but may be identified with piety and religion as noted by Aristotle, as well as with a biblical conception. Chastity is distinctly a Christian ideal. In regard to the other virtues Spenser follows the general conception and the name given by Aristotle, but in presentation the poet shows subtle adaptation to romance and later ideals.

Chapter IV. Epic structure of the Faerie Queene:

An analysis of Spenser's original plan reveals three embryonic schemes of unity. Arthur's search for the Faerie Queene gives the

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vaunted classic unity of the single complete action of a single hero, formulated by Aristotle, and cited by all Renaissance critics. Gloriana as the centre of the nation and the court, and the inspiration of her courtiers, is the centre of a practical group unity. The twelve knights form a group bent upon action having a common source and a common end in the administration of justice. The unity of these two groups may be easily defended through the theories enunciated by Castelvetro and endorsed by Cinthio and Tasso. Castelvetro declared that poetry can without blame narrate the one action of a whole race, or the many actions of many persons, for unity lies merely in the skill of the poet. Had Spenser developed any one of these schemes and subordinated the others, he might have attained unity, but in subordinating Arthur's search for Gloriana and in exalting his role as super-hero, Spenser lost the unity of a single action; in giving Gloriana a triple personality he lost central unity; and in emphasizing the individual feats of the knights, he lost the group unity of a common end. The result is a loose structure of episodic plot.

When Spenser abandoned his carefully conceived plan, he substituted epic variety as having a higher and more complete function than mere structural unity. Aristotle opened the way for the broader theory when he stated that the epic has " a special capacity for enlarging its dimensions " which " conduces to the grandeur of effect, to diverting the mind of the hearer, and

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relieving the story with varying episodes." A double standard developed in succeeding critics: the one posited classic unity as the pivotal centre of art; the other elaborated the principle of variety and its concomitant imitation and invention. Emphasis was placed upon coherence and smoothness rather than upon inherent unity of plan or purpose; one incident should glide into another without break. Ariosto put into effect the broadest theories of epic extension. Spenser followed his example and definitely committed himself to the theory of chain unity when he chose romance as his medium of expression - romance which in its very nature demands love and adventure in endless succession and variety.

Chapter V. Spenser's use of literary genres (according to source):

Muzio wrote of the epic:

> " The sovereign poem is a picture
> Of the world, and within itself comprises
> Every style, every genre, and every fortune."

With the development of the theory of variety, the scope of the epic was enlarged to include varied materials and varied forms of literary expression. Spenser drew materials from romance, ancient and modern, from history, philosophy, the classics, the Bible, from folk-lore, legend, fabliaux, and ballads, and he also drew without stint from the great allegorical poems of the Middle Ages, and from contemporary epics. Such borrowing was not only legitimate under the theory of imitation, but was urged as a means of enriching thought. In the hands of Spenser, the material so gathered

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underwent a transmutation. Stories were interwoven, incidents transferred, and personalities amalgamated, while the whole was given new color, significance, and form.

Chapter VI. Spenser's use of literary genres (according to form):

Spenser includes in his epic allegory, pastoral, satire, lyric, dialogue, masques, and court-of-love material. When Spenser planned his epic in the form of an allegory, he based his conception upon the popular allegoric interpretation of the great epics, and upon the example of Jean de Mehun, Guillaume de Lorris, Gower, Lydgate, and others. Allegory, moreover, offered the most practical medium for moral instruction. The pastoral was a popular genre, and its presence in the epic was defended on the ground of its inclusion by Homer, Ariosto, and Tasso. The lyric plaint as well as the more formal court-of-love material was an inherent feature of romance, and hence easily transplanted in the epic . The use of satire had the authority of the classics, but owed much to the example of Boiardo and Ariosto; satire also, together with the dialogue, débat, and masque, showed the influence of the drama.

The variety of material included in the Faerie Queene is but evidence of the broader critical standards of the Renaissance. Liberality in structural unity was paralleled by freedom in the use of material. Imitation had become a prime poetical necessity inculcated by all critics. The poet was urged to glean from the whole field of literature. Invention lay in the adaptation of the

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material so acquired, in clever turns of speech, and in new forms of presentation. Spenser's wide reading and prodigious memory afforded rich resources, and his varied materials were literally shredded and reversed in that great epic of romance which constitutes the Faerie Queene.

Chapter VII. Spenser's Technique (mechanics).

At the basis of all artistic literary production in the Renaissance lay the reverence for language. To the student of criticism it is clear that Spenser in his use of diction was actuated by three principles: the necessity of enriching the vernacular; the use of archaisms as a literary device; and the observance of decorum in speech. It is from Aristotle himself that these theories proceed. He states that in heroic poetry all varieties of words are serviceable, but that rare and strange words are especially fitted to this most massive and stately of all measures in which both thought and diction must be artistic. The use of dialect and of old, foreign, and new words, and the coinage and alteration of words are matters treated in minute detail by Renaissance criticism. Decorum demands that all language be fitted to the person and the occasion. Spenser makes no use of language which could not be supported by critical dicta, and the Glosse of E. K. proves that in the Shepheardes Calendar at least the poet was consciously following critical method.

When Spenser sought a metric form for his epic, the alexandrine in France, the decasyllabic line in England, and the terza rima

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of Dante and the ottava rima of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso in Italy were accepted as standard heroic measures in their respective countries. The Spenserian stanza, it appears from the likeness, presents a fusion of elements analogous to the poet's transmutation of material. The sustained sweetness, the predominance of vowel and liquid sounds, and the absence of stress proclaim strong Italian influence. The terza rima of Dante is probably the chief factor in Spenser's stanza. Dante's line is hendecasyllabic, and the feminine or paroxytonic verse is the norm. There are, however, two accepted variations: the final syllable is dropped and the line becomes masculine or purely decasyllabic, and is called tronco; or an extra unaccented syllable changes the line to sdrucciolo, and this line, with some stress on the sixth syllable, gives the cadence of the alexandrine. The primary accent of Dante's line falls with full force on the tenth syllable, with a secondary accent upon the fourth or sixth. Strictly speaking his metre is iambic, and with the variation of line noted above, and the similarity of stress, the tronco would correspond to the English decasyllabic heroic verse, and the sdrucciolo to the alexandrine. Spenser had already experimented with the combination of the two. His rhyme scheme is the linkage of the terza rima. His choice of a stanza-form for his epic was probably made under the influence of Ariosto and Tasso. He found in the madrigal of nine lines a dignified model with the linked rhyme of the terza rima. In its

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final form Spenser had a metrical unit, Italian in every characteristic yet corresponding to familiar English metres; it included all notable heroic measures and attained the ensiousness needed for his elaboration of style.

Chapter VIII. Spenser's style:

Renaissance criticism made three divisions of style according to pitch or elevation; these are high, mean, and base; of these Spenser chose the mean or middle style as best suited to his theme and material.

Another conception of style is concerned with an author's individual manner of expression. The dominant characteristic of Spenser's style is art. Elaboration, finish, and polish characterise the whole Faerie Queene. There is neither spontaneity nor rapidity. His art was the capacity for detail. Visualization was with him a mental process that presented every minute point, not as seem, but as it actually existed. The observance of decorum, the carefully wrought figure, the minute description, the epic aggrandisement, the heightening of nature, the level tone, soft sounds, and musical rhythm are marks of the fine workmanship of Spenser's art.

Chapter IX. Spenser the man and poet:

For our meagre knowledge of Spenser's life we are indebted to a few public records, some scattered criticisms by contemporaries, and his own writings. The last reveal him as a man of the

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Renaissance, bred in learning, imbued with a critical spirit, frank in the enjoyment of his senses, and endowed with immense energy. The Irish records prove his knowledge of business and of administration. He was a philosopher and a courtier, a dreamer and a man of affairs.

As a poet he never rises to the heights of passion or touches the depths of sympathy, but in his artistry he has rendered a service to national literature that is beyond valuation.

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